# A HISTORY OF THE HINDI GRAMMATICAL TRADITION

*Hindi-Hindustani Grammar, Grammarians, History and Problems*

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*In the memory*
*of my father*
*and my niece*

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# PREFACE

In comparison with its classical grammatical tradition, the vernacular tradition of India has received very little attention, both inside and outside India. This work focuses its attention on this neglected area and is the first modest attempt to trace the development of the Hindi grammatical tradition from 1698 to the present. Based on the analysis of primary documents including several manuscripts and "rare" grammars obtained from three continents (Asia, Europe and North America), the historical treatment of grammatical topics has been presented with special reference to the linguistic, sociolinguistic (attitudes of grammarians, etc.) and pedagogical situation in India during the past three centuries. The analysis of Hindi grammars written in several major European and Asian languages has gone into this study.

I have contracted many intellectual debts in working out the views of the present book. I shall always be grateful to Braj and Yamuna Kachru, who taught me in graduate school and who have influenced me since then. This work particularly benefited by their comments and suggestions. My gratitude is due to Manindra K. Verma at the University of Wisconsin, Madison for providing me an opportunity to discuss with him this work in detail; to Rajeshwari Pandharipande, William C. Ritchie and S.N. Sridhar whose brains were picked from time to time in the course of my writing; to Christine Boot (Dutch and German), V. Deprez (French), Donald Mills (Italian), Tomio Mizokami (Japanese), Jaklin Kornfilt (German), Louis Roberts (Latin), Robert Stacy and Gerald Greenberg (Russian) and Ake Viberg (Swedish) for their translational assistance; to Jan Gonda, the editor of the India Section of this series, for his commendable patience and encouragement; to the Office of Vice President for Research and Graduate Affairs of Syracuse University and the American Institute of Indian Studies for their support. I owe special thanks to Ruth Melville for her editorial assistance, suggestions, and above all constructive criticisms. While I am expressing gratitude, I should acknowledge the loving support of Shobha and Kanika, which enabled me to overcome a variety of barriers to the completion of this work. Finally, no words can express my deepest appreciation to my mother and brothers in India for their support throughout my career.

# NOTE ON HINDI TRANSLITERATION

*Vowels:* अ a आ ā इ i ई ī उ u ऊ ū ए e ऐ ai [æ] ओ o औ au [ɔ] ऋ ri ॠ rī ऌ lri ॡ lrī : (visarga) h

*Consonants:*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| क k | ख kh | ग g | घ gh | ङ ṅ |
| च c | छ ch | ज j | झ jh | ञ ñ |
| ट ṭ | ठ ṭh | ड ḍ | ढ ḍh | ण ṇ |
| त t | थ th | द d | ध dh | न n |
| प p | फ ph | ब b | भ bh | म m |
| य y | र r | ल l | व v | |
| श sh | ष sh | स s | ह h | |
| क्ष ksh | त्र tr | ज्ञ gy | ड़ ṛ | ढ़ ṛh |

*Symbols:*

~ = Vowel nasalization.
/ / = Represents the underlying representation of a word.
[ ] = Phonetic representation of a word.

*Sanskrit Terms:* The transcription of borrowed Sanskrit terms represents their Hindi pronunciation. The word-medial and word-final schwa in the transcription of Hindi/Sanskrit words is in accordance with the tendency of the Hindi language. The above transcription scheme is by and large in agreement with the scheme employed in the modern linguistic literature on Hindi. For more details see section 0.4 in the main body of the book.

*Perso-Arabic Consonants:* क़ q ख़ x ग़ g ज़ z फ़ f

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AHG | Yamunā Kāchru, Aspects of Hindi Grammar, New Delhi, Manohar, 1980. |
| GL | Hartmut Scharfe, Grammatical Literature, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1977. |
| HBSIMY | Pañjābrāv Rāmrāv Jādhava, Hindī bhāshā aur sāhitya ke adhyayan men īsāī mishnariyon kā yogdān, Poona, Karmavir Prakashan, 1973. |
| HKYV | Murlīdhar Shrīvāstava, Hindī ke yorupīya vidvān: vyaktitva aur krititva, Patna, Bihar Hindi Granth Academy, 1973. |
| HL | Ronald S. McGregor, Hindi Literature of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974. |
| HPL | Shardā Devī Vedālankār, The Development of Hindi Prose Literature in the Early Nineteenth Century, Allahabad, Lok Bharti, 1969. |
| HS | Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, Hindī shabdānushāsan, Kashi, Nāgarī Pracārinī Sabhā, 1958. Also, 1973 and 1976 editions. |
| HTPV | Methew Vechoor (ed.), Hindī ke tīn prārambhik vyākaraṇa, Allahabad, St. Paulus Prakashan, 1976. |
| HV | Kāmtā Prasād Guru, Hindī vyākaraṇa, Kashi, Nāgarī Pracārinī Sabhā, 1920 (1962 edition). |
| HVI | Ananta Chaudharī, Hindī vyākaraṇa kā itihās, Patna, Bihar Hindi Granth Academy, 1972. |
| IHS | Yamunā Kāchru, An Introduction to Hindi Syntax, Department of Linguistics, Urbana, University of Illinois, 1966. |
| LSI | Sir George A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. 9, part 1, New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1916. |

# INTRODUCTION

## 0. *Preliminaries*

It is ironic that one of the greatest mysteries for human beings continues to be the activity that they are most familiar with. Not only are they in firm control of this activity, they also experience it in abundance. They are gifted with this unique activity—language—and generation after generation they have used it in their day-to-day life. Even a child finds it easy to acquire language without any serious pain, struggle, or training. Language, which seems to be a simple activity for human beings, poses an unmatched challenge to philosophers, linguists, and grammarians. The history of linguistics and other related disciplines that are interested in exploring the frontiers of language is testimony to the fact that language researchers are far from unveiling the mysteries of human language—despite the collective knowledge of the past several centuries of research, and despite advances in the areas of philosophy of language, language acquisition, and the production and perception of speech.

The underlying reason for this is that language investigators do not have any direct access to the brain, which is the center of every linguistic activity. Therefore, they are unable to observe the mechanism that converts thoughts into language. What is more problematic is that, even if they had direct access to the brain, they would still fall short of their desired goal, for language or grammar is not stored in the brain in a unitary physical form.

In the absence of any direct access to brain mechanisms, linguists turn to indirect evidence, such as the investigation of linguistic data, pathologic cases (aphasia), aging, and accidents (brain damage) in order to hypothesize what goes on in the brain during the production and perception of speech.[1] Among these indirect sources of evidence are the investigations of linguists and grammarians in the present and past, in the East and West. This activity, which eventually results in a grammar, is a key to understanding human language—an important step toward learning about human intelligence and the brain.

In addition to the general goals of gaining insights into language, the brain, and human intelligence and of extending our knowledge about natural languages, grammars are also written for the following specific reasons:[2] (1) to provide a principled description of a particular language; (2) to be a basis for language pedagogy; (3) to compare one grammar with another for typological, historical, and areal characteristics or for pedagogically oriented contrastive analysis; and (4) to test linguistic theories. For one or more of the above reasons,[3] writing grammars has been one of the oldest endeavors of linguists and grammarians and, of course, it is the striking feature of Indian linguistics. The earliest known history of the Indic grammatical tradition goes back at least to Pāṇini (A.D. 5).[4] Writing grammars, the practice of grammar research, and readings of grammatical treatises were the defining features of the Sanskrit language. Grammatical research in India or Indian languages is by no means restricted to the Sanskrit grammatical tradition alone; there are several other important grammatical traditions, including the non-Indo-Aryan grammatical tradition, the post-Sanskrit tradition (Pali, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃshas), and the vernacular grammatical traditions.[5] Although these traditions are not as fondly remembered or as highly regarded as is the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, their contributions to the Indian grammatical tradition cannot be overlooked.

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[1] For a detailed treatment of this topic, see David Crystal, *Introduction to Language Pathology*, Baltimore, University Press, 1980, especially Chapter 3 (pp. 54-121) and Chapter 4 (pp. 122-197).

[2] Charles A. Ferguson, "Multilingualism as object of linguistic description," in Braj B. Kāchru (ed.), *Linguistics in the Seventies: Directions and Prospects*, Department of Linguistics, Urbana, University of Illinois, 1978, pp. 97-105.

## 0.1 *Objectives*

The main objective of this study is to survey the history and the state of research on the Hindi language grammatical tradition, which is one of the main representatives of a vernacular grammatical tradition in India. In addition, it aims at presenting the first detailed, authentic treatment of some rare, unpublished, and even "lost" grammars. For example, some of the rare grammars considered here are those by Ketelaar (1698), Schultz (1744), Rev. Adams (1827) and Rājā Shivprasād Sitār-e-Hind (1875). Some forgotten grammars written in European languages other than English are also discussed. The most notable of these grammars, which are written primarily in Latin, German, Portuguese, and French, is the grammar by Garcin de Tassy (1829). The study also aims at rectifying several misconceptions about the Hindi grammatical tradition in general and some grammatical treatises in particular that have arisen because of the reliance of previous scholars on secondary sources.

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[3] Indian grammarians also cite some nonlinguistic reasons such as culture, religion, ecology, esthetics, pragmatism, etc., for writing grammars. For a discussion of such reasons, see Scharfe, *GL*, pp. 79-80; also Chaudharī, *HVI*, pp. 2-4.

[4] Sanskrit grammar reached its climax in Pāṇini. The history and the nature of the grammatical tradition prior to Pāṇini are still in an obscure stage and are thus subject to different views. For a general view of the tradition, see the introduction to William I. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1966; also, see Jan Gonda, *Old Indian*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1971. For a detailed treatment of Pāṇini, see Paul Kiparsky, *Pāṇini as a Variationist*, Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 1980; Scharfe, *GL*, especially Chapter 2, pp. 88-116.

[5] See Scharfe, *GL*, Chapter 13, pp. 178-186, Chapter 15, pp. 191-195, and Chapter 16, pp. 198-199, respectively.

## 0.2 *Approach*

There are at least two distinct approaches to the history of Hindi grammar: the chronological approach, which presents a survey of the history of chronologically determined grammar-writing trends; and the thematic approach, which traces the growth of the treatment of major topics in the history of Hindi grammar. Although these two approaches are not absolutely discrete, the latter approach depends upon the former for its groundwork and data collection. This book attempts to combine both approaches, while placing special emphasis on the first approach for the following reasons.

A satisfactory account of the chronological development of Hindi grammar is not only long overdue but also urgent in the light of fast-decaying manuscripts and already extinct old and/or original editions of some important works. In some cases, it is an uphill task at present to reconstruct a systematic chronological history. Consider, for example, the problem of dating the works of Shrīlāl (1855) and Rev. Budden (1878). From the references quoted here in Chapters four and five, respectively, it is obvious that their original works must have been composed and published prior to 1855 and 1878, respectively. However, it is difficult to arrive at their precise date, for the earlier editions of their works are not found anymore. Therefore, a significant amount of work is needed to reconstruct chronological accounts off the tradition. Also, since Hindi scholarship is representative of a vernacular rather than a classical grammatical tradition, its shape is often governed by nonlinguistic factors—social, political, attitudinal, etc.—rather than by purely linguistic considerations. In the light of its inherently distinct nature and the chronological gaps in our knowledge of Hindi grammar, a purely thematic approach would miss those underlying nonlinguistic factors which guided the growth of the tradition. Consequently, not only would it fail to show why the tradition developed the way it did but it would also run the danger of imposing purely linguistic evaluationary criteria which would underestimate the actual contributions to the tradition. Moreover, a thematic approach would fail to utilize the rare and invaluable sociolinguistic information about language attitude, linguistic variations, and data selection stored in the grammars. For these reasons, this study favors a chronological approach over an exclusively thematic one. However, it should not be concluded from this that the emphasis is placed exclusively on chronologically annotated lists of grammars and grammarians, and that the development of scientific paradigms has been slighted. The historical development of Hindi grammar has been presented here from a critical viewpoint, thus the description, analysis and interpretation of grammatical trends have been considered together with the problems and achievements of the individual grammars. In the process, the study attempts to answer several questions which are still unanswered or answered inadequately. In short, this work analyzes the tradition from the viewpoint of its historicity, problems addressed, aims, methods of data collection, originality, dependence on earlier works, treatment of the language, and the importance of individual grammatical treatises.

More than four hundred grammars were analyzed to arrive at the survey and the analysis of trends presented here. Data from secondary sources were used only in those instances where a grammar is either lost or no longer accessible to scholars.

## 0.3 *Scope*

In venturing to write on such a topic with such an approach, one is at once made conscious of a number of difficulties. In the first place, it is not possible to include each and every grammar of Hindi written in every European and non-Western language. Only those texts which have met one or more of the following criteria have been selected: (1) permanent historical significance; (2) significance for subsequent periods and trends; (3) unique properties, linguistic or nonlinguistic; and (4) wide approval of the work in question by the scholarly community. Rather than provide an indiscriminate listing or arbitrary selection, I have chosen grammars for their representativeness of a trend or a period without overlooking their unique and idiosyncratic properties. Thus, the approach, in spite of being selective in nature, gives a comprehensive survey of scholarship on the topic.

It should be stressed that the book does not cover either historical grammars or grammars written on Hindi dialects such as Braj, Avadhī, and so on. Only those grammars dealing with Khaṛī bolī or Hindustānī style, which is the lingua franca of India, have been included here. Also, the work does not place equal emphasis on every period of Hindi grammar. Special emphasis has been placed on the period ranging from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, which has received little or no previous attention. The modern period (twentieth century) has been discussed very briefly.

## 0.4 *Transliteration Schemes, Abbreviations and References*

The transliteration of Hindi data into Roman script has had many vicissitudes in grammars and articles on the Hindi language. Therefore, the general and widely used transliteration scheme given in the note on Hindi transliteration in the beginning of this book has been followed throughout the discussion in order to maintain uniformity. The transliteration of the original grammar has been retained only when it is of independent historical and phonetic significance, for example, in the case of grammars of the early period.

About the transcription of borrowed Sanskrit terms in Hindi, it should be mentioned that their transcription represents their Hindi pronunciation. The word-medial and word-final schwa is dropped whenever it is deemed necessary in Hindi data. References to specialized modern linguistic works cited in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2) are given in Appendix I and variations in grammatical terms are presented in Appendix II.

Perhaps it should be added here that for some books cited, publisher information is not provided here for one or more of the following reasons: (1) the information in question was obtained from secondary or indirect sources which do not provide such information; (2) some old grammars, particularly written in Hindi, do not give the publisher's name; and (3) following the convention of the Library of Congress, such information is left out if the publisher in question does not print the work anymore.

### 0.5 *Earlier Works: A Brief Survey*

The earlier works on the history of Hindi grammar can be classified as either primary or secondary studies.

There is only one primary study, carried out by Chaudharī in the 1970s, devoted exclusively to the history of Hindi grammar.[6] Although Chaudharī's study represents the only independent investigation of the topic and had immense historical importance for later research, it also contains several serious shortcomings. First, there is a notable gap in the work due to Chaudharī's inability to locate historically significant texts. He did not include the three oldest grammars of Hindi in the body of his work because he was unable to obtain them.[7] Thus, he gives only scant treatment to some important periods of Hindi grammar, such as the earliest period, and he draws faulty conclusions regarding the dating of the emergence of the tradition. Second, the scope and nature of his study are highly restricted because it does not go beyond the traditional grammars of Hindi. No reference is made to the modern transformational, structural, or case grammars of Hindi. His inability to secure significant grammatical works available only outside India further undercuts the value of the study. Third, as a result of the inability to obtain primary and direct source material, the work depends heavily on indirect sources. This leads to a recycling of the observations about Hindi grammar and grammarians in the secondary studies. Therefore, the observations presented in the study are unoriginal, and the account of Hindi grammar and grammarians does not go beyond an annalistic record. Fourth, Chaudharī's lack of linguistic training results in a failure to elucidate crucial grammatical, sociolinguistic, and second-language development information stored in the grammars. And fifth, he focuses on rather irrelevant issues for no obvious reason. Thus he devotes one-fourth of the book to the history of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃshas grammars and pretransformational linguistics, whereas the main theme—the discussion and analysis of Hindi grammars—is merely sketchy and full of autobiographical accounts of Hindi grammarians.

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[6] Chaudharī, *HVI*, 1976.

[7] Methew Vechoor expresses his surprise at Chaudharī's editorial remarks that he could not obtain a copy of the grammars of Ketelaar and Schultz in India despite his serious attempts to obtain them from several libraries, including the national library in Calcutta. These grammars are easily obtainable from Calcutta, and Vechoor himself had success in this endeavor. See Vechoor, *HTPV*, pp. 13-14.

The secondary studies of the history of Hindi grammar consist of general surveys; chronological lists and remarks; prefatory, introductory, and editorial remarks; subsections of larger or general topics, such as the history of prose; and grammars. The secondary studies are by no means intended to be serious or complete surveys of Hindi grammar. The range of topics covered is usually very narrow and the details are often sketchy, unsystematic, and incomplete; they are frequently subject to the limitations of their eras and the idiosyncracies of their authors. Two notable exceptions in this group are studies by Grierson and Kāchru.

Perhaps the oldest well-documented overview of the history of Hindi grammars was presented in Sir George Grierson's monumental work, *Linguistic Survey of India*. In this work Grierson presented some insightful analytical remarks on the four earliest grammars.[8] These brief remarks were followed by a selected chronological list of Hindi grammars and dictionaries published up to 1913. In addition to its historical importance, Grierson's work played a crucial role in preserving several important works of Hindi grammar from extinction.

The main importance of Kāchru's survey lies in the fact that its scope goes beyond a mere chronological account of traditional grammars.[9] Encompassing traditional, structural, and historical grammar, this survey also presents a discussion of the powers of the various grammatical models. It points out the limited value of Hindi grammars written before the emergence of transformational-generative grammar and reveals that deeper insights into the workings of the Hindi language have been and can be gained by the application of the transformational-generative model.

The prefatory remarks by Shrīkrishan Lāl to Kishorīdās Vājpeyī's grammar, Vājpeyī's own remarks, and Kāmtā Prasād Guru's introduction to his grammar deserve mention simply for historical reasons. Lāl's remarks fail to note some facts presented earlier by Grierson.[10] Instead of presenting a systematic list of Hindi grammars in chronological order, Lāl presents an arbitrary list of several grammars. No special criterion seems to have gone into their selection, except for the author's awareness of their existence. This arbitrary and random selection fails to present an objective survey of Hindi grammars, nor is there a systematic analysis of the grammars selected. His preface has several other shortcomings, including misleading and incorrect chronological accounts of some grammatical works. In short, this work adds nothing to the history of the Hindi grammatical tradition. What is distressing is that it gave rise to several misconceptions about the tradition. It is worth noting that in the second edition of Vājpeyī's work these remarks were withdrawn in favor of an introduction by Sudhākar Pāndey. Similarly, Kāmtā Prasād Guru's introductory remarks to his scholarly work did not add anything significant to the historical background of Hindi grammar.[11] Surprisingly, in his reference to the earliest grammars of Hindi Guru cites Gilchrist (1796) and Rev. John Adam (1827), thus neglecting more than a century of work prior to Adam. As shown in Chapter 2, the history of the Hindi grammatical tradition began with Ketelaar (1698).

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[8] Grierson's remarks on these earliest works—from Ketelaar's grammar to Lebedeff's—were actually intended in part to provide an "early reference to the [Hindi] language." For further details, see Grierson, *LSI*, Vol. 9: 1, pp. 8-11.

[9] See Yamunā Kāchru, *IHS*, 1966, Introduction, pp. 1-22. Also, see her *AHG*, 1980, pp. 3-11.

The other secondary sources include the history of Hindi grammar as part of larger and more general topics such as the history of grammar, the development of Hindi prose, contributions of European and British scholars to Hindi or Indology, and contributions of Christian missionaries to Hindi language and literature. Pandit Rāmdev Trivedī's study of the history of grammar appeared during the pre-independence era.[12] The inadequacy of this work is evident from the fact that it considers Kāmtā Prasād Guru the first grammarian of Hindi and fails to take into account the previous two centuries of Hindi grammar. Jādhava's work, written in Hindi, on the contributions of Christian missionaries to Hindi language and literature deals with Hindi grammar as one of the several types of contributions made by Christian missionaries to Hindi literature.[13] Similarly, Shrīvāstava's study on the European scholars of Hindi includes a discussion of European Hindi grammarians.[14] Needless to say, both Jādhava's and Shrīvāstava's treatments of Hindi grammar lie within the confines of their main topic and do not go beyond the biographical accounts of European grammarians of the Hindi language. The same is the case with Shāradā Devī Vedālankār's study.[15]

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[10] See Shrīkrishan Lāl's editorial remarks in Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, *HS*, 1959. See, also, Vājpeyī's own remarks from pp. 66-70 [1976 edition].

[11] Kāmtā Prasād Guru, Prefatory Remarks, *HV*.

[12] Pandit Rāmdev Trivedī, *Vyākaraṇa kā itihāsa* (History of Grammar), Banaras, 1943, p. 51.

[13] See Jādhava, *HBSIMY*; pp. 148-171 are devoted to grammars written by missionaries.

[14] Shrīvāstava, *HKYV*, pp. 185-265.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the study of Hindi grammars is still in its early stages and is one of the most neglected areas of research on the Hindi language. Although histories of almost every major or minor topic related to Hindi language and its literature have been written and even rewritten, Hindi grammar has received neither systematic nor serious attention. In the absence of an exhaustive study of this topic, a significant portion of the Hindi grammatical tradition is endangered.[16] The inadequate attention paid to the study of Hindi grammars has resulted in several misconceptions about the nature, structure, importance, and historicity of the tradition; and the practice and study of Hindi grammatical research has been deprived of its appropriate status.

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[15] Vedālankār, *HPL*, Appendix II, pp. 217-228 for a brief discussion on the history of Hindi grammars and dictionaries from 1676 to 1856.

[16] Chaudharī, *HVI*, Prefatory Remarks.

## CHAPTER ONE

# THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE HINDI GRAMMATICAL TRADITION

Hindi is a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken in South Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Nepal), and other countries outside Asia (Mauritius, Trinidad, Fiji, Surinam, and Guyana) by approximately six hundred million people, either as a first or second language.[1] Hindi, which is a descendant of the Sanskrit language, is not strictly the name of any chief dialect of the area but is an adjective, Persian in origin, meaning Indian.[2] Historically, it was synonymous with Hinduī, Hindawī, Rextā, and Rextī and in recent times is popularly known as Hindi. The terms Urdu and Hindustani are also employed to refer to this language. All of these labels denote a mixed speech spoken around the area of Delhi, North India, which gained currency during the twelfth or thirteenth century as a contact language between the Arabs, Afghans, Persians, Turks, and native residents. Under court patronage and because of various other social features, two distinct styles with two different scripts developed in the course of succeeding centuries. The style which is written in Perso-Arabic script with Perso-Arabic borrowings is referred to as Urdu and the one written in the Devanāgarī script with Sanskrit borrowings is known as Hindi. Later, because of political, social, and attitudinal factors, Urdu became associated with the Muslim population and Hindi with the Hindu population. During the period of national movement, Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress attempted to encourage a neutral variety—Hindustani—to bring the two communities together. Although the commonly spoken variety of both Hindi and Urdu is close to Hindustani, that is, it is devoid of heavy borrowings from either Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic, again, for attitudinal reasons, it has not been given any status in the linguistic context of Indian society.

## 1.0 *The Hindi Grammatical Tradition*

Hindi has an approximately three-century-old, well-attested, and rich grammatical tradition of its own. Hindi grammars can be classified into three groups: (1) traditional grammars, (2) comparative and historical grammars, and (3) modern linguistic grammars. Among these three types, the traditional grammars have the longest uninterrupted history, continuing to the present date. The birth of the last two types is closely associated with developments in linguistics. The development of historical and comparative linguistics in the nineteenth century gave birth to the second type; whereas the last type is the direct consequence of twentieth-century linguistics.

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[1] This figure includes speakers of Urdu.

[2] See McGregor, *HL*, p. 64; for the historical development of Hindi and its different variants and styles, see Sunīti Kumār Chatterjī, *Bhāratīya ārya bhāshāen aur Hindī*, Delhi, Rajkamal Prakashan, 1963. For details about the dialects of Hindi, see the discussion of Kellogg's grammar in Chapter Five.

It is well known that the Sanskrit language is the single major force responsible for the formation and development of Hindi language and literature. So great is the influence of Sanskrit on Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages that almost every literary and language-related activity is affected by it. The only significant exception in this regard is Hindi grammar. Although the Hindi grammatical tradition represents one area of the language which owes minimal debt for either its birth or its growth to its ancestral language, it is difficult to proceed with the history of grammars in general and of Indian languages in particular without making any mention of the rich grammatical tradition of the Sanskrit language. This is crucial not only for paying linguistic tribute to that unmatched tradition but also for providing general background in order to understand the distinctive nature of the grammatical tradition of the Hindi language.

The study of *vyākaraṇa* (grammar) in Sanskrit was viewed as an area of highest linguistic sophistication and a testing ground for various linguistic theories. The Sanskrit grammatical tradition resulted in grammatical works such as Pāṇini's grammar, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which is still regarded as "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence."[3] At no time was the study and writing of grammar regarded as a simpleminded investigation into language. On the contrary, it was considered a "hyperspecialist occupation."[4] Only those who exhibited the highest mental faculties for formulating linguistic theories for linguistic interpretation were considered candidates for writing or studying Sanskrit grammatical texts. Such a highly developed conception of grammar together with a sophisticated tradition of studying, interpreting, and re-interpreting grammatical texts make up the inheritance of the Hindi grammatical tradition. However, the Hindi tradition did not make effective use of this unique inheritance.

Hindi marks a point of significant departure from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, rejecting its unique contributions and deep-rooted influence. Although at first this claim may seem unconvincing, its validity cannot be denied if one performs even a preliminary examination of the tradition. It was the combination of linguistic and nonlinguistic conditions which laid the foundation of the Hindi grammatical tradition. The Hindi grammatical tradition is neither a direct result of the gradual growth of nor any kind of extension of its ancestral grammatical tradition. One should not conclude from these remarks that Sanskrit played no role in the Hindi grammatical tradition. Indeed, Sanskrit grammars did serve as models for the analysis of the Hindi language. However, this influence is not as spectacular and its scope has not been wide as it has been in other areas of Hindi language and literature. Moreover, the effects of this influence were felt quite late in the development of the Hindi tradition. By and large, the Hindi grammatical tradition emerged independently. This was not the consequence of some kind of revolt against Sanskrit imperialism nor can it be attributed to the decadence of the Sanskrit tradition. The Sanskrit tradition was flourishing during the birth of Hindi grammar, even among practitioners of Hindi.[5] What made Hindi grammar branch out from Sanskrit was a series of new conditions which set the stage for its birth.

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[3] Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1933, p. 11.

[4] J.F. Stall (ed.), *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1972, Preface, p. ix.

In spite of the independent and distinct nature of Hindi grammar, it has been a common practice among Hindi scholars to analyze it against the background of the Sanskrit tradition. This practice has prevented independent investigation of the tradition and, even more unfortunate, has given rise to several misconceptions about it. In order to understand the underlying nature of Hindi grammar and to answer basic questions about its development, it is crucial to examine the factors which laid the foundation of Hindi grammar. Furthermore, in order to understand the importance of this tradition in the light of modern linguistic research, its independent development should be kept in mind and the set of criteria developed to evaluate the Sanskrit tradition must be abandoned in favor of new, independent criteria pertinent to understanding the Hindi tradition, its merits as well as its shortcomings.

## 1.1 *Factors Responsible for the Emergence of the Hindi Grammatical Tradition*

The external factors which set the stage for the emergence of Hindi grammar can be grouped into two classes—general and specific. The series of specific historical incidences responsible for the development of Hindi grammar scholarship will be discussed in the following chapters whenever appropriate. At present, it is important to focus on those general conditions which paved the way for Hindi grammar. Hindi grammar is a by-product of the colonial era and was born shortly after the arrival of Europeans in India.[6] The first European contact with India can be traced back to the end of the fifteenth century. During the Age of Discovery (1492-1522), European contacts with new worlds had begun to arouse curiosity toward new cultures and new languages. Europeans came to India with two specific goals in mind: commerce and the spread of Christianity.[7] As their desire to rule India started to succeed, a third goal, administration, also emerged. One of the major obstacles in achieving these goals was the problem of communication. In the absence of a link language between themselves and the Indians, it was imperative for them to gain some knowledge of widely used Indian languages.

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[5] Grammarians such as Rāmānanda, Nāgeshabhaṭṭa, Pandit Jagannāth wrote grammars of Sanskrit but paid no attention to Hindi and other modern vernaculars. For further discussion, see Chaudharī, *HVI*, p. 155.

[6] See Kāchru, *IHS*, p. 2; Chaudharī, *HVI*, p. 158; Scharfe, *GL*, p. 198.

In the multilingual setting of India, the first question the Europeans confronted was what language or languages could best meet their needs. At first, they attached importance to the languages of the ruling class and attempted to learn Persian and Arabic, which were then, respectively, the representative official and religious languages of the Mogul empire. They soon realized that these two languages—although an important medium of establishing contact with the ruling and elite classes—isolated them from the significant portion of the population who employed Indian vernaculars, particularly the lingua franca, Hindi. It soon became clear that Hindi would better serve their day-to-day business and communicative needs.[8] This was so evident to all strata of the European community that Dutch, British, French, and Portuguese missionaries, civil servants, administrators, and rulers all stressed the need for learning Indian vernaculars in general and Hindi in particular. They viewed Hindi as one of the most important steps toward understanding the people of India and achieving their goals.

Such external factors and pragmatic requirements created a suitable climate for learning Hindi as a second language. However, the Europeans soon discovered that learning Hindi would be extremely problematic because of the absence of teaching materials such as texts and grammars.[9] Gilchrist's account of his learning of Hindi points out how unaware Indian scholars were of the needs of foreign learners. When he inquired about a dictionary or a grammar or any other such text, the Indian scholars or his informants "stared with astonishment and answered interrogatively if it was ever yet known in any country that men had to consult vocabularies, and rudiments for their own vernacular speech."[10] In such circumstances, Europeans had to act on their own initiative and develop their pedagogical materials. Two important outcomes of such attempts were the development of Hindi grammatical texts and dictionaries. This, then, explains why the Hindi grammatical tradition was initiated and stimulated by foreigners and why it departed from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

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[7] See Scharfe, *GL*, p. 198, paragraph 1.

[8] The sentiments of the Europeans about Hindi and about its utility are detailed in Chapters Three and Four.

[9] It should be added that it was not the case that the tradition of language teaching was totally absent in India. The exposure of Indians to foreigners and foreign languages was established long before the arrival of Europeans. For example, Persian had long been taught in India. However, a suitable methodology for teaching Europeans and the practice of teaching modern Indian vernaculars were absent in India at that time. The remarks of Hindi grammarians about the practice of teaching Persian, the pragmatic difficulties of learning Hindi, and a need for an adequate methodology of teaching Hindi are noteworthy in this respect. For details see Chapter Three.

An important question which still remains unanswered is why Indian scholars did not write grammars of Hindi for first-language learners. This question is especially curious because the roots of grammar-related scholarship run very deep in Indian soil. Its range is restricted neither to the Sanskrit language nor to the Sanskrit age. All the descendant languages of Sanskrit—Pali, Prakrits, and Apabhraṃshas—are credited with their own grammatical traditions and the signs of such traditions are scattered all over the linguistic scene of India, even in modern times. Why did this extraordinary tradition fail to extend itself into the modern vernaculars, especially the lingua franca, Hindi? One becomes even more perplexed when it is observed that Indian grammarians paid no attention to this serious gap, in spite of the century-long European patronage of Hindi grammar. In view of this long neglect, it should not come as a surprise that on the whole Hindi scholars have shied away from the question of what prevented Indian scholars from writing grammars of the Hindi language. Only three scholars have briefly entertained this question—Guru, Chaudharī, and Scharfe. They cite four factors: (1) the lack of Hindi prose (Chaudharī), (2) social and political unrest and a traditional love for Indian culture (Chaudharī), (3) the neglected state of Indian languages (Chaudharī, Guru, Scharfe), and (4) the formative stage of Hindi (Guru, Scharfe).

Linguistically speaking, only the last two reasons are primary. Among the minor reasons pointed out by Chaudharī, only the first—lack of prose in Hindi—deserves some attention. It is true that prose is a better medium for expressing scientific thoughts than poetry, but prose style is not a necessary condition for writing a grammar. The most important grammatical treatise—Pāṇini's grammar—was not written in prose but written in the Sūtras style, which is neither poetry nor prose. In addition, it is wrong to claim that Hindi prose was nonexistent by the time the Hindi grammatical tradition was born. The tradition of writing Hindi prose stories had begun long before the first grammar of Hindi came into existence. McGregor notes that there is evidence of the use of literary prose as early as 1500.[11] The second reason offered above—social and political unrest and a love for Indian culture—does not explain much. During the period of the Mogul empire other language- and literature-related activities in Hindi were not entirely suspended. Also, it is paradoxical to claim that their love for Indian culture prevented Indian scholars from writing Hindi grammars.

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[10] John B. Gilchrist, *The Oriental Linguist*, Calcutta, Ferries & Greenway, 1798, Appendices vii-viii.

[11] McGregor, *HL*, p. 63. See Vedālankār, *HPL*, Chapter 1 for Hindi prose literature before 1800.

The underlying reasons for the failure of Indian scholars to write Hindi grammar before the advent of the nineteenth century are internal—linguistic and sociolinguistic—in nature. As Guru points out, Hindi was then in its formative stages. It was still a set of dialects with no representative dialect to qualify for what we call today the Hindi language. But this cannot be considered the main and only reason. The writing of Hindi grammars by foreigners is evidence enough that some notion of "Hindi" must have existed during that period. In addition, historical linguistic studies show that the modern Indo-Aryan language had come into existence by the thirteenth century.[12]

The other reason was sociolinguistic in nature. It is a general fact that classical languages have greater prestige than vernaculars in a speech community. Classical languages are commended for their clarity, precision, systematicness, and uniformity by both scholars and laymen, whereas vernaculars are often viewed as flawed because of their fluidity, instability, multidialectalism, lack of grammar, and intensive variation. For this reason, most scholars, even those who speak the vernacular, do not have a positive attitude toward studying it. The positive attitudes which are attached to the study of classical languages are transferred to vernaculars only when their increased use is prompted by some nationalistic, political, religious, or other extralinguistic motivation.

For these sociolinguistic reasons, modern vernaculars failed to compete with Sanskrit in India. The prestige held by Sanskrit and its grammatical tradition was so great that it overshadowed the importance of Indian vernaculars. Modern vernaculars such as Hindi were not considered worthy objects of any serious grammar-related research by Indian scholars. Such negative attitudes toward Hindi prevailed for a long period of time—long after the use of Hindi intensified, literary activities gained momentum, and foreign learners initiated the tradition of writing grammars of Hindi. These attitudes combined with a lack of standardization had a damaging effect on the writing of Hindi grammar.

In addition, foreign grammarians failed to create a favorable climate for Hindi grammar among Indian scholars because they did not make distinctions between the various styles of Hindi. Many foreigners indiscriminately employed the so-called uncultured vulgar style instead of the literary or cultured style in their works. This practice, as well as a lack of patronage by the rulers, worked to stunt the grammatical tradition of Hindi (especially the earlier tradition).[13] Grammars preceding Gilchrist's received no attention from Indian scholars and failed to generate an interest in Hindi grammar.

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[12] See Chatterji, op. cit.

## 1.2 *The Hindi Grammatical Tradition: An Alien Tradition*

From the above discussion, it is clear that the Hindi grammatical tradition is primarily alien in origin, alien in the sense that its founders were not natives of India nor did they share the conception of grammar laid down by Indian grammarians. It is widely acknowledged that Hindi grammar was founded by Europeans and is a by-product of the colonial era.[14] Unlike the Sanskrit grammarians, the Europeans were not masters of the language whose grammar they attempted to write nor did they prefer to write in Indian languages. During the initial stages, their linguistic attitudes toward the language sharply differed from that of the Sanskrit grammarians. For Sanskrit grammarians, Sanskrit was *devavāṇī*, (the voice or language of gods), whereas for the founders of the Hindi grammatical tradition, Hindi was considered *moors* (the language of the uncultured). Sanskrit grammars were written to cater to the needs of Indian first-language learners whereas Hindi grammars were written primarily for a European audience with the aim of teaching them Hindi as a second language. For a considerable period of time, especially during the initial stages of its development, activities pertaining to Hindi grammar were carried out by those who were not trained linguists or grammarians. They were medical surgeons, army officers, civil servants, artists, and missionaries who were driven to the writing of grammars by utilitarian motives. Some were interested in Hindi purely for pragmatic considerations, others for intellectual reasons, and they wrote grammars primarily for two reasons: to provide a description of the language and to fulfill the pedagogical requirements of European learners. Unlike Sanskrit grammarians, their involvement in grammar writing was not motivated by theoretical concerns such as the quest for understanding the working of natural languages, testing linguistic theories, and interest in universal grammar and typology. Particularly during the formative stages, they did not exhibit any special interest in theoretical debates or in devising any metalanguage. It was their functional and pedagogical interests which preoccupied them throughout their linguistic endeavors. Thus in no serious sense is the grammatical tradition of the Hindi language a representation of the tradition handed over to it by Sanskrit grammar. It emerged as an alien tradition on the linguistic scene in India.

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[13] Scharfe, *GL*, p. 198.

[14] For the views of scholars who do not subscribe to this, see the discussion in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO

# THE DAWN OF HINDI GRAMMAR

### THE EARLIEST PERIOD (1698-1770)

The period starting from the last two decades of the seventeenth century marks the dawn of Hindi grammar. It was an era of linguistic adventurism and romanticism in the history of Indic linguistics in general and Hindi linguistics in particular. It takes us back to those moments in European history when the quest for the exotic worlds of Asia and Africa was as urgent, compelling, and challenging as the search for extraterrestrial intelligence could become in our times. This period is marked by a series of European professionals—army officers, diplomats, judges, medical men—who, out of their passion for exotic languages, laid the groundwork for a new era of grammatical scholarship in India.

In spite of its overwhelming significance, this period has remained almost unstudied.[1] Scholars fear that this long neglect might have already resulted in irreparable damage to the history of Hindi grammar.[2] Their fear that the period still runs the risk of losing necessary primary sources, crucial for its reconstruction, is not totally unfounded, as our discussion of the oldest grammar will reveal. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that the existing historical accounts of the era are heavily dependent upon secondary sources.

The reliance on secondary resources has left some serious gaps in our understanding of this period. To date, some fundamental questions about the dating, authorship, authenticity, nature, and identification of the first grammar remain either unanswered or answered inadequately. Of course, the value of secondary and indirect sources in unlocking the history of the period should not be underestimated. Not only did they serve as an important link in the rediscovery of direct sources, but they also played a critical role in preserving knowledge of an otherwise forgotten period of Hindi grammar.

### 2.1 *The First Grammar: Native and Non-native Hypotheses*

While investigating the history of any topic or subject, the first question which naturally comes to mind is, who was the pioneer in the field? In this case, the answer is important in order to determine the onset point of the Hindi grammatical tradition.[3] There are two viewpoints current in the literature regarding the first Hindi grammarian. These viewpoints are based upon two distinct hypotheses, which can be termed the native and the nonnative hypothesis.

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[1] Historians of Hindi grammars unanimously agree that this period is the least understood era of Hindi. On the problems of the inaccessibility of the grammars of the period, see Guru, *HV*, p. 3.

[2] On the loss of the old grammars, see Guru, *HV*, p. 4; on the sorry state of some rare grammars and the fragile condition of some manuscripts, see Chaudharī, Foreword, *HVI*, p. i.

### 2.1.1 *Native Hypothesis*

The main proponents of the native hypothesis are Ziāuddīn and Chaudharī. They present primarily the following argument to refute the claim that the foundation of Hindi grammar was laid by Europeans. They claim that it is rather improbable that a centuries-old unbroken grammatical tradition came to an abrupt halt at the onset of modern Indian vernaculars. In their view, a more plausible explanation for the lack of native grammars is that they did not survive the political turmoil of Mogul India. In order to demonstrate that their hypothesis is not merely a speculation, they cite the existence of Mirzā Khān-ibn-Fakkru-u-Dīn's grammar of Braj Bhāshā.[4]

Credit for bringing the grammar to light goes to Ziāuddīn. In 1935, he published a critical edition and claimed that the grammar was written in 1676. Ziāuddīn also claimed that since no known grammar of Hindi written by Europeans existed prior to Mirzā Khān's, Mirzā Khān's work represented the first attempt by anyone in the area of Hindi grammar.[5]

Although Ziāuddīn's claim that Mirzā Khān wrote the first grammar is critical for the historicity of the tradition, neither the proponents nor the opponents of the native hypothesis have made any serious attempt to evaluate it. The proponents have simply accepted it at face value while the opponents have chosen to ignore it altogether.[6] Such a state of affairs calls for an examination of Ziāuddīn's claim.

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[3] For some historians of Hindi grammar the onset point does not coincide with the birth of the first grammar. According to Chaudharī, "For several reasons, we postulate the beginning of Hindi grammatical tradition from 1676." Although Chaudharī does not mention all his reasons, his underlying reason for postulating the beginning of Hindi grammar prior to Ketelaar is that he and Ziāuddīn subscribe to the view that Mirzā Khān wrote his grammar of Braj Bhāshā in 1676. For the inadequacy of this claim, see the discussion in section 2.1.1. At this point it should be added that if one adopts an approach similar to that of Ziāuddīn and takes into account the grammars of Hindi dialects, the history of Hindi grammar can easily go back to the sixteenth century or even further. See especially fn. 14 in this chapter.

[4] Although Scharfe stresses that grammatical descriptions of several modern Indian languages were first undertaken by European missionaries and scholarly administrators, he adds, following Ziāuddīn, that Mirzā Khān wrote the Braj Bhāshā grammar prior to 1676. Although Scharfe does not credit Ziāuddīn directly, he leaves little doubt that his observation was not based on an independent investigation of Mirzā Khān's grammar. For details, see Chaudharī, op. cit., p. 159; M. Ziāuddīn, *A Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā by Mirzā Khān (1676)*, Calcutta, Vishva-Bharati Book Shop, 1935; and Scharfe, *GL*, p. 198, especially paragraphs one and two.

[5] Ziāuddīn states, "I am not aware of any other earlier attempt at the grammar of Hindī or Hindustānī other than that of Mirzā Khān's. John Joshua Ketelaar wrote his grammar of the Hindostānī in about 1715 A.D., which was published by David Millius in 1743 A.D." Op. cit., p. 8, especially see paragraph three.

According to Ziāuddīn, Mirzā Khān wrote his grammar in Persian. Not much is known about the life of the author.[7] The grammar is not an independent treatise in itself. It constitutes a part of the introductory chapter of his book entitled *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* (A Present from India). A wide range of topics dealing with Indian culture and literature are covered in the main body of the book.[8] The appendix presents a dictionary of Hindi lexicon.

Several manuscripts of *Tuḥfat* (an abbreviated title) currently exist.[9] They exhibit a considerable amount of variation, which indicates that some portions of the work are contaminated, that is, they were inserted later.[10] These variations make the task of dating the work very difficult.

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[6] Chatterjī, who subscribes to the nonnative hypothesis, chose to ignore the question of the date of Mirzā Khān's grammar perhaps because in his view the question of the first grammar of Hindi was not tied to the grammar of Braj Bhāshā, which is now considered a dialect of Hindi. Therefore, for him, the date of Mirzā Khān's grammar had no significance for arriving at the beginning of the Hindi (*khaṛī bolī*) grammatical tradition.

[7] His name is given differently in different manuscripts. Some catalogues such as W. Pertsch's give his name as Mirzā Jān-ibn-Fukhru-d-Dīn Muḥammad, while the British Museum Catalog and the Bodleian Library Catalog give the name of the author as Mīrzā Muḥammad-ibn-Fakhru-d-Dīn Muhammad without any Khān or Jān. For further details, see Ziāuddīn, op. cit., the opening paragraph on p. 4.

[8] The book is divided into seven "books" (chapters). Each "book" is devoted to a different topic. The topics covered by the main body of the work are: Prosody (Book I), Ryme (Book II), Rhetorics (Book III), Love and Lovers (Book IV), Music (Book V), Science and Sexual Enjoyments (Book VI), Sāmuddrika, "The Science of Reading Characters by the Peculiar Formation of Limbs and Marks" (Book VII). Each book and the introduction is further divided into "chapters" and sections. From the viewpoint of the grammar only the introduction and appendix are important. The introduction contains a discussion on the writing system (the Devanāgarī script) and Hindi phonetics. Three out of four chapters of the Introduction together with the first section of the fourth chapter are devoted to these two topics. The main body of the grammar is covered only in the second section of the fourth chapter.

[9] Ziāuddīn does not mention the total number of existing manuscripts of *Taḥfatu-l-Hind*. However, it is clear that he did not consult all the existing manuscripts. For example, he did not use the Orrisa Public Library manuscript. Ziāuddīn's edited work is based on the India Office manuscript [MS. No. ADD. 16,868], the Asiatic Society of Bengal's manuscript, and the Oriental Public Library of Patna's manuscript. The editor notes variations and omissions among the manuscripts and states his preference for the British Museum's manuscript. According to him this is the best of the three. The Patna Library's manuscript is guilty of many omissions as is the Asiatic Society's manuscript. From the standpoint of calligraphy, the Patna manuscript is the best written of the three, but this is a small comfort, for the copyist seems to have had absolutely no idea of what he was copying. See in particular Ziāuddīn, op. cit, p. 4.

[10] The grammar portion of the text is not free from contaminations. Ziāuddīn acknowledges that the British Museum's manuscript has some later insertions. For example, the Asiatic Society of Bengal's manuscript and the Orrisa Public Library's manuscript describe the Braj area as four *kos* round whereas the India Office Library's manuscript describes it as eighty-four *kos* round. Ziāuddīn admits that "the word, *haštād* (eighty) is a later insertion in the India Office's manuscript," ibid., p. 35, fn. 1.

In an effort to establish the date of *Tuḥfat*, Ziāuddīn relies on the finding of Riev, who first attempted to date the main work.[11] Riev's dating procedures are based on the following line of argument.

Riev proceeds with the underlying assumption that the shared features of the manuscripts represent the authentic portion of the original work, whereas variation is indicative of contamination. Attempting to isolate these two elements in the manuscripts under investigation,[12] he arrived at the following generalizations, crucial for dating the original work: (a) the eulogy to "the king" was shared by all of his manuscripts, and (b) the manuscripts exhibit variation with respect to the patron of the work. Some manuscripts cite Prince Az'am Shāh along with Kukultāsh Khān as its patron while others bear the name of Muizzu-d-Dīn Jahāndār with Kukultāsh Khān at whose request the work was composed.

The assumed relationship between the shared features and textual authenticity led Riev to narrow his search to the eulogy and to the question of the identity of Kukultāsh Khān for arriving at a suitable date of the work. A detailed examination of the eulogy further revealed that the phrase "raẓī'-i-shāh" meaning "the [foster] brother of the king" is used to refer to Kukultāsh Khān. On the basis of this phrase, Riev concludes that Kukultāsh Khān must be the man of that name who received the title "Khān Jahān" in 1676. As his title is not included in the praise of Kukultāsh Khān, Riev concludes that the actual work must have been completed before 1676.

The above conclusion is derived on the basis of a set of very fragile premises and by an indirect approach. The following arguments seriously question the adequacy of Riev's approach as well as his conclusions.

First, Riev's underlying assumption about the relationship between the shared elements of manuscripts and authenticity is misleading. Without demonstrating that at least one of the examined versions represents a faithful approximation of the original work, it is difficult to rule out a number of other possibilities, notably that either only the contaminated versions survived or only the contaminated versions were accessible to Riev. It is especially difficult to overlook the latter assumption because Riev makes no effort to demonstrate that he at least examined all existing versions of the work in question.

Second, the key phrase *raẓī'-i-shāh* contains a generic title *Shāh* (king), and in no way exclusively refers to Emperor Ālamgīr, a crucial reference in arriving at the identity of Kukultāsh Khān. The title could also refer to Jahāndār Shāh, the grandson of Ālamgīr. What is interesting is that there was a Kukultāsh

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[11] Riev was neither an expert in the area of philology nor a qualified historian. Perhaps he was a librarian whose main goal was to arrive at a tentative dating of the work to provide a bibliographical reference for library users.

[12] Neither Riev nor Ziāuddīn mentions the total number of manuscripts he examined.

Khān (the real name of Alī Murād Khān) who lived during the grandson's reign. Not only this, the second Kukultāsh Khān also received the same title, Khān Jahān, in 1712 from the then emperor Jahāndār Shāh. Without proving that the phrase refers to the former Kukultāsh Khān instead of the latter, Riev's date is open to dispute, and the later date of the work—1711—cannot be ruled out.

Third, while listing the contents of *Tuḥfat*, Riev does not include either the grammar component or the dictonary component of the work. This omission cannot be dismissed as merely an oversight on his part because the two components constitute more than half of *Tuḥfat*. This leads us to two other possibilities, namely, that either the grammar and the dictionary were later insertions or what Riev actually examined was a version (or versions) of *Tuḥfat* that did not include the grammar and dictionary at all. The latter possibility means that even if Riev's dating of *Tuḥfat* is accepted at face value, it cannot be equated with the dating of the grammar.

Fourth, in order to support Riev's dating of the work on one hand and to account for the variations with respect to its patron on the other, Ziāuddīn argues that there is no apparent reason why Ā'zam Shāh's name should have been substituted for that of Jahāndār Shāh if Ā'zam Shāh was, in fact, not the real patron. However, the following reasons can justify the substitution of Ā'zam Shāh's name as patron: (1) the possibility cannot be ruled out that *Tuḥfat* was written in two phases and the grammar and dictionary were put forth as a secondary addition to the core work during the second phase either by the writer himself or by someone else. The main body of the work was probably completed during the reign of Ālamgīr and Ā'zam Shāh, and the dictionary and grammar part was completed during the reign of Jahāndār Shāh. This would explain not only the variations found in the different manuscripts with respect to the patron but also the omission of the grammar and dictionary from Riev's listing of the contents. (2) Ā'zam Shāh was a great patron of Braj Bhāshā and had keen literary interests. These two characteristics make him an ideal candidate for later insertions even if he were not the actual patron of the work. The practice of inserting the names of renowned literary figures by succeeding authors is common in the literary tradition of India.[13]

The above arguments leave little doubt in the mind of an objective reviewer that the date of Mirzā Khān's grammar arrived at by Riev and Ziāuddīn is merely speculative. This seriously undercuts the value of the native hypothesis, even if it is argued that the mere existence of the work sheds a ray of hope about the hypothesis. Although it is not wise to rule out entirely the possibility of Hindi grammars written by native grammarians, such attempts are unlikely to represent systematic trends of early Hindi grammar. They can best be characterized as secondary or scattered attempts by natives to write grammars of Hindi dialects.[14]

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[13] It is well known that Indian literature and literary personalities inspired their readers or manuscript owners to emulate them. To one fine verse, another fine verse might be added by the proud owner of the manuscript. Name(s) of their favorite patron(s) were added to the original patron. Hindi manuscripts are no exception in this regard. The later additions to Hindi masterpieces such as Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas* and Sūrdās's *Sūrsāgar* show that this tendency of emulation was quite active in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the problem of the contamination of Indian manuscripts, see Edward C. Dimock, et al. (eds.), *The Literatures of India*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968, pp. 34-35.

### 2.1.2 *Nonnative Hypothesis*

The main proponents of the nonnative hypothesis are Grierson, Chatterjī, Vogel, and Kāchru. The hypothesis states that the pioneer Hindi grammarian was a European. Although there has been unanimous agreement among the supporters of this hypothesis with respect to the general premise, the specific details, even the question of the identity of the first grammarian, surfaced only gradually as research on the earliest grammars progressed. Finally, on the basis of secondary evidence, Grierson convincingly established that Ketelaar was, in fact, the pioneer Hindi grammarian.

The hypothesis experienced a temporary setback when Ziāuddīn claimed that Mirzā Khān's grammar preceded Ketelaar's. However, as our critical examination of Ziāuddīn's finding reveals, his claim was premature and was more or less dictated by wishful thinking. The present research overwhelmingly supports Grierson's claim and reinforces the validity of the nonnative hypothesis.

## 2.2 *The Oldest Grammar of Hindi: Ketelaar's Original Manuscript (1698)*

The oldest grammar was written in Dutch by J.J. Ketelaar,[15] a native of Germany, in 1698. As the discussion below shows, it has never been published and was until the 1930s considered to have been lost.

### 2.2.1 *Search for the Oldest Grammar*

The rediscovery of the grammar has its own interesting history. A combi-

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[14] Even if one is tempted to accept Ziāuddīn's claim at face value, it will still be difficult to accept that Mirzā Khān was the pioneer Hindi grammarian. Chatterjī has brought to light the existence of yet another secondary attempt to write a grammar of another Hindi dialect—Maithilī—prior to Mirzā Khān. According to him, the title of this work is *Varṇa-Ratnākara* and it was completed by Tyotirīsvara Kavisekharācārya in 1507. For a detailed study, see Sunīti Kumār Chatterjī, "The oldest classics of the Maithilī language—a linguistic study" in *Selected Writings*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1978, pp. 177-236.

[15] In the literature on Hindi linguistics the following variations can be found in the spelling of Ketelaar's name: First name: John, Jean, Joan, Johannes; second name: Jashua, Josua, Joshua; surname: Ketelaar, Kotelar, Kessler, Kettler.

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nation of historical accidents and intermittent exchanges of information among a handful of scholars saved the grammar from becoming extinct like some other unpublished old grammars. Its recovery was slow and gradual. The period of its search and research can be classified into the following phases.

(1) In April 1893, Sir George Grierson read a paper entitled "On the Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe" at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The abstract of the paper subsequently appeared in the society's journal.[16] In this paper Grierson stated that the first grammar of Hindi was that of Benjamin Schultz, written in 1745, which he had not had the opportunity to see.

(2) The second phase began with the reading of a paper by Emilio Teza before the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome in January 1894. The title of this paper was "Dei primi studi sulle lingue industaniche alle note di G.A. Grierson," and Grierson published an abstract of it in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[17] This paper was important in two ways: Correcting the date of Schultz's grammar as cited by Grierson, Teza rightly pointed out that in his preface Schultz mentions yet another early grammar—the grammar of Ketelaar, which appeared in *Dissertationes Selectae*, edited by David Mills in 1743.[18]

At this point in our history, information about the existence of Ketelaar's grammar was based on indirect evidence (its reference in Schultz's grammar); no scholar, including Schultz, claimed to have actually seen it. But Grierson's unveiling of Mills's work first in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1895) and subsequently in his monumental work, *Linguistic Survey of India*,[19] improved the situation significantly. Mills's work purported to be a translation of Ketelaar's grammar in print. Grierson presented a very brief account of the grammar and hypothesized that it had been written in 1715.[20] Grierson's account of the grammar is very sketchy, only one paragraph in length, and left considerable room for misconceptions.

(3) The first relatively detailed account and analysis of the grammar appeared in 1931 with Sunīti Kumār Chatterjī's article "The Oldest Grammar of Hindustani."[21] The article was written approximately ten years after

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[16] G.A. Grierson, "On the early study of Indian vernaculars," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893, Part I, pp. 41-50.

[17] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, May, 1895, pp. 89-90.

[18] David Mills (ed.), "De Lingua Hindustanica," in *Dissertationes Selectae*, Leiden: C. Wishoff and G.J. Wishoff, 1743, pp. 455-488.

[19] Grierson, *LSI*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 6-8.

[20] Although Grierson did not give any reason for his hypothesis, it is likely that he gave this date because it was known that Ketelaar had died in 1716.

[21] Sunīti Kumār Chatterjī, "The oldest grammar of Hindustani," *Indian Linguistics*, 1933, (1965 Reprint), Vol. II, pp. 68-83.

Chatterjī happened to obtain a copy of David Mills's entire work at a used bookstore in England. This find established the existence of Ketelaar's grammar beyond any doubt and removed several misconceptions about it. The article revealed that the original grammar was written in Dutch and was translated into Latin and published by David Mills in 1743. Chatterjī also supported Grierson's dating of the grammar, 1715, and emphasized that the original manuscript of the grammar was lost.

(4) Major credit for setting the record straight about the date and existence of the original grammar goes to a well-known orientalist, Dr. J.Ph. Vogel. In response to Chatterjī's article, Vogel wrote him a note in October 1932. The aim of this note was twofold: One, to point out that the original grammar was written much before 1715, and two, that the original manuscript was not lost but was still preserved in the Royal Archives of the Netherlands.[22]

Yet Ketelaar's work languished. Vechoor translated Mills's translation from Latin to Hindi in 1976. Although Vechoor reported the existence of the original grammar, he made no effort to find out about it.

(5) In July 1981, I visited various archives in the Netherlands and was able to get a copy of the oldest grammar.[23] Thus, it took approximately a century of scholarship (1893-1981) to establish the dating, authorship, and authenticity of the grammar. However, this scholarship still fell seriously short of establishing the precise nature of the original grammar.

About half a century has passed since Vogel called the attention of scholars to the original manuscript. This period has witnessed the publication of several books, translations, and articles on the oldest grammar. Yet prior to my attempt to secure Ketelaar's original manuscript, no scholar responded to Vogel's comment by seeking it out.

It is surprising that even those Dutch scholars, such as Vogel, who were inspired by the discovery of the grammar to do research on the biography of Ketelaar did not make any serious attempt to analyze the original grammar.[24]

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[22] This note was published in all the subsequent reprints of Chatterjī's article of 1933. Also, see J. Vogel, "Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbin, author of the first Hindustani grammar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, 1935, Vol. III, pp. 817-822 (reprint, 1964). In this independent article on the biography of the first Hindi grammarian, Vogel stressed, "The Dutch original was never published and the manuscript copy at the Hague is the only one known to exist" (Vogel 1935, p. 821).

[23] Several factors led me to intensify the search for the first grammar: curiosity about and a quest for the primary (original) source, Mills's admission that he transformed the original work in accordance with principles of Latin grammar, and serious discrepancies between the existing translations of the grammar, namely between Mills, op. cit., and Vechoor, *HTPV*.

[24] A recent personal communication from Dr. Th. Damsteegt, State University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, reveals that "some 15 years ago a typescript [English] translation of it [i.e., Ketelaar, 1698] was made by Professor Bodewitz (at that time a junior assistant) at the request of a research scholar from Pakistan who had planned a project on this grammar; as far as we know, however, that project has not resulted in any publication," dated May 6, 1983. It should be added, however,

Perhaps it was the case that Mills's Latin translation, which led scholars to the original manuscript, also posed a serious threat to it. It overshadowed the original, and the supposition that it was the oldest version in existence had become a psychological reality in the minds of scholars. The existence of the Latin version seems to have cast a spell on investigators, leading to curious errors and misconceptions.[25] Moreover, Indian as well as Western scholars took it for granted that Mills's translation was an authentic and faithful representation of the original work. It has been analyzed, reanalyzed, and translated as such. An understanding of the true nature of Ketelaar's grammar comes at a time when scholarship on the topic in question has compounded error on error.

### 2.2.2 *Dating, Authorship, and Authenticity*

Let us now turn to those old questions whose answers are long overdue. Regarding the questions of dating and authorship of the grammar, the title page of the manuscript (see fig. 1 and 1 [B-C]) for the original Dutch title page together with a transcription and an English translation) offers independent evidence that Grierson's speculation about the date of the grammar was not correct. It is clear that the oldest grammar was completed by J.J. Ketelaar by 1698. The final manuscript was copied by Jsaacq van der Hoeve and was written in the Dutch language.[26] The authenticity of the date thus arrived at is especially important because, in the absence of the manuscript, Grierson's speculation about its date had been accepted by the succeeding historians of Hindi grammar. The correct date takes the history of Hindi grammar back into the seventeenth century instead of the eighteenth.

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that Bodewitz's translation restricted itself to Ketelaar's descriptive statements. No attempt was made to transcribe or translate the data portion which is the heart of the grammar. Also, Vogel wrote an article on the oldest grammar in Dutch. The important feature of this article is the reproduction of the table of contents of Ketelaar's original grammar. Since the article was published in Dutch, it remains unknown to date. This work is the first to bring it to light. The complete title of the article is as follows: J. Ph. Vogel, "De eerste 'grammatica' van het Hindoestansch," *Mededeelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks deel 4, n°. 15, Amsterdam, 1941, pp. 643-663.

[25] A case in point is Chatterjī's article (1933), op. cit. Its opening paragraph states: "Joannes Josua Ketelaar . . . during the first two decades of the eighteenth century wrote, in Latin, the first grammar of Hindi" (ibid., p. 68), although the rest of the article leaves the clear impression that Chatterjī knew that Ketelaar had written his grammar in Dutch and not in Latin.

[26] It seems that Mills did not know about the existence of this work until 1725 at the earliest because the 1725 edition of his 1743 work does not contain any reference to the Ketelaar grammar. The only surviving copy of the 1725 edition is preserved in the rare books collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The acquisition of the original grammar has also created a favorable climate for raising new questions about it. Indeed, rather than providing a final answer to the question of the authenticity of the oldest grammar, the manuscript is likely to stir the question up again, and this time with more vigor. In current writings, the undercurrent of the authenticity debate has been too weak to dominate the study of Hindi grammar. After all, until now, no variant other than Mills's version of 1743 has been available for scholarly discussion.

The description of the manuscript and the discovery of significant differences between it and the Mills version have changed this situation.[27] Now it is possible to argue that perhaps more than one copy of the oldest grammar existed and that Mills used a copy different from that in our possession. This might explain the differences between our manuscript and Mills's translation. Although no serious investigation into the oldest grammar should dismiss this argument offhand, its highly speculative nature becomes readily clear from the following facts. During the entire history of the Hindi grammatical tradition, no investigator—Mills, Schultz, Grierson, Chatterjī, Vedālankār, Jādhava, Shrīvāstava, Vechoor, etc.—has ever reported the existence of more than one copy of Ketelaar's grammar. Vogel also stated that the copy in The Hague was the only manuscript copy known to have existed. Furthermore, no other library or individual has ever reported having seen more than one copy of the manuscript. Mills admits to having made changes and additions in his edited version; he does not provide the slightest clue that there was more than one copy of Ketelaar's manuscript. The original manuscript also gives the impression that only one copy exists. Finally, the authenticity of our copy and the existence of a single copy of the manuscript can be independently supported by the historical records of the Dutch East India Company in the Rijksarchief, The Hague. Thus, any argument questioning the authenticity of our document rests on proving the existence of more than one copy of the manuscript. Until such a proof surfaces, the above argument does not provide any serious challenge to the claims made here.

### 2.2.3 *Organization and Nature*

A quick glance at the manuscript reveals that earlier investigators also seriously underestimated the length of the actual manuscript. Since their estimations were based on Mills's significantly abridged version, such conclusions were not entirely unjustified.[28]

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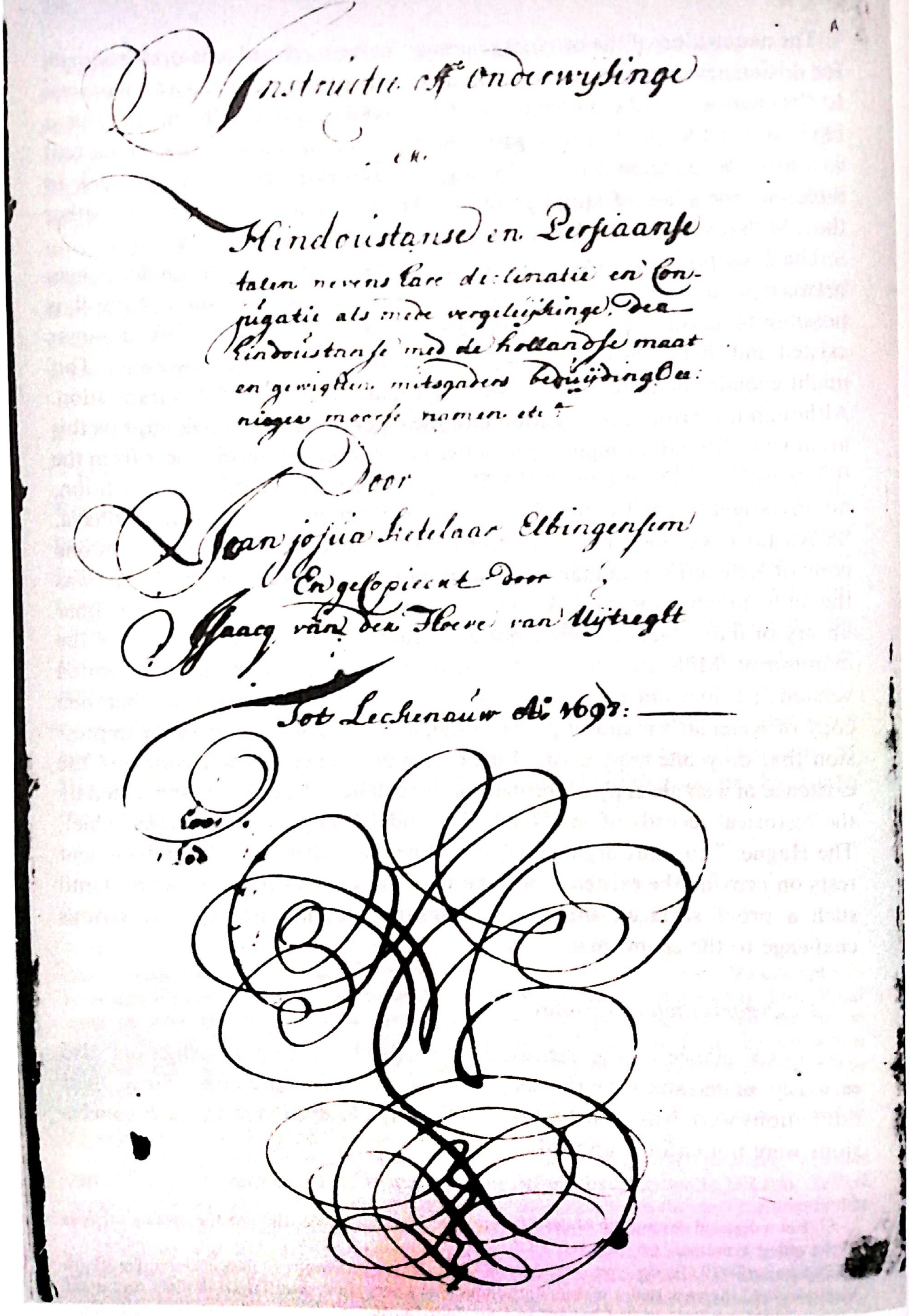
[27] For a detailed description of the differences between the manuscript and the existing versions of the oldest grammar, see section 2.3.1.

[28] Chatterjī (1933), op. cit., Vechoor, *HTPV*. In his prefatory remarks, U.N. Tiwārī (in Vechoor) held the view that Ketelaar's grammar was a very short one; Tiwārī thought that it did not exceed thirty pages, while Chatterjī had concluded earlier that it was only fourteen pages long.



Instructie off Onderwysinge
der
Hindoustanse en Persiaanse
talen nevens hare declinatie en Con-
jugatie als mede vergelijkinge der
Hindoustanse med de hollandse maat
en gewigten mitsgaders beduijdingh Ee-
niger moorse namen etc.
Door
Joan Josua Ketelaar Elbingensem
En gecopieert door
Isaacq van der Hoeve van Uijtreght
Tot Lecknauw Ao. 1698:

Figure 1

*Figure 1 (B)*

Instructie off Onderwijšinge Der Hindoustanse en Persiaanse talen, nevens hare declinatie en Conjugatie, als mede vergeleijkinge, der hindoustanse med de hollandse maat en gewighten mitsgaders beduijdingh eenieger moorse namen etc.

Door

Jean josua ketelaar, Elbingensum en-gecopieert door Jsaacq van der Hoeve, van Uijtreght Tot Leckenauw A.D. 1698

*Figure 1 (C)*

Instruction or teaching of the Hindustani and Persian languages, including their declension and conjugation also comparison of the Hindustani with the Dutch measure and weights and the meaning of some moorish names etc.

By

Jean Josua Ketelaar of Elbing Copied by Jsaacq van der Hoeve, of Utrecht at Lucknow A.D. 1698

The general organization of the grammar is as follows: the title page, a foreword by the copyist (fig. 2), a brief introduction to the Hindi language by Ketelaar, a table of contents (fig. 3), and the main body of the grammar.

What is interesting about the foreword to the grammar is that the copyist abandons his traditional role of commenting on the text and its author. Instead, Jsaacq van der Hoeve chooses to highlight the underlying motivations for learning a foreign language. His observations provide a rare insight into the attitudes of seventeenth-century Europeans toward the learning of a second language. Mobility and intellectual gains are cited as two important motivations for learning a foreign language. His observations have not lost a bit of their validity or freshness with the passage of three centuries.

In his introduction Ketelaar remarks primarily on three main points: the multilingual setting of seventeenth-century India, varieties of Hindi and its writing systems, and the problems of representing the correct Hindi pronunciation in Dutch letters. He notes the dominance of three languages —Hindi, Persian, and "Moorish"[29]—on the Indian linguistic scene together with their impact on each other and on the other Indian languages.

With respect to the second point, he mentions the existence of geographical and ethnic varieties of Hindi and stresses the wide-ranging impact of Persian on Hindi. As evidence of the Persian impact, Ketelaar points out that although

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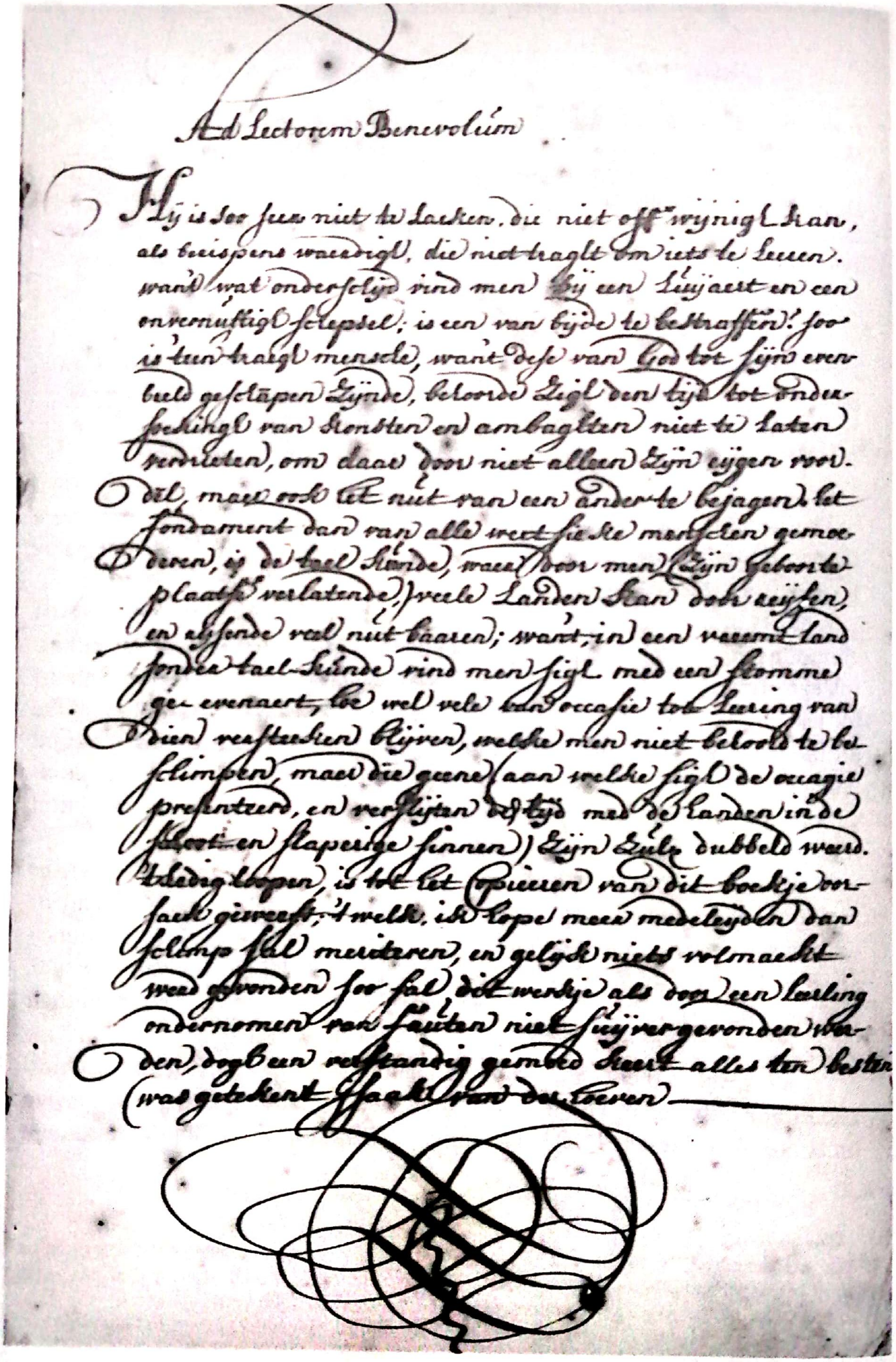
The total length of the original manuscript is actually 162 pages. The manuscript is written on 10" × 16" paper and is bound like an Indian register. It is in fragile condition and the ink has begun to seep through the pages, which makes reading it a rather strenuous task.

[29] The term "Moorish" meant "Muslim" in European languages of the time, but in the context of India, Ketelaar refers specifically to the Arabic, Persian mixed variety of Hindi. This appears to be Ketelaar's meaning. It seems that Ketelaar was not distinguishing Muslim and Hindi linguistic usage in northern India (now usually labeled "Urdu" and "Hindi").



Ad Lectorem Benevolum

Hij is soo seer niet te lacken, die niet off weynigh kan, als berispens waerdigh, die niet tracht om iets te leeren. want wat onderschijt vind men bij een luijaert en een onvernuftigh schepsel; is een van bijde te bestraffen! soo is een tragh mensche, want dese van God tot sijn evenbeeld geschapen zijnde, behoorde sigh den tijd tot ondersoeckingh van konsten en ambaghten niet te laten verslieten, om daer door niet alleen zijn eygen voordeel, maer ook het nut van een ander te bejagen. het fondament dan van alle weetsieke menschen gemoederen, is de tael-kunde, waer door men zijn geboorte plaetse verlatende, veele landen kan door reijsen, en afsonde veel nut baaren; want, in een vreemt land sonder tael-kunde vind men sigh met een stomme ge-evenaert, hoe wel vele van occasie tot leering van dien versteeken blijven, welke men niet behoort te beschimpen, maer die geene (aan welke sigh de occagie presenteerd, en verslijten de tijd met de handen in de schoot en slaperige sinnen) zijn zulx dubbeld waerd. Ledig-loopen, is tot het copieeren van dit boeckje oorsaeck geweest; 't welk, ik hope meer medelijden dan schimps sal meriteren, en gelijck niets volmaeckt weerd gevonden soo sal dit werkje als door een leerling ondernomen van fauten niet suijver gevonden werden, doch een verstandig gemoed keert alles ten besten

(was geteekent Isaak van der Toeren

Figure 2

Figure 2

### Dutch Transcription of Figure 2

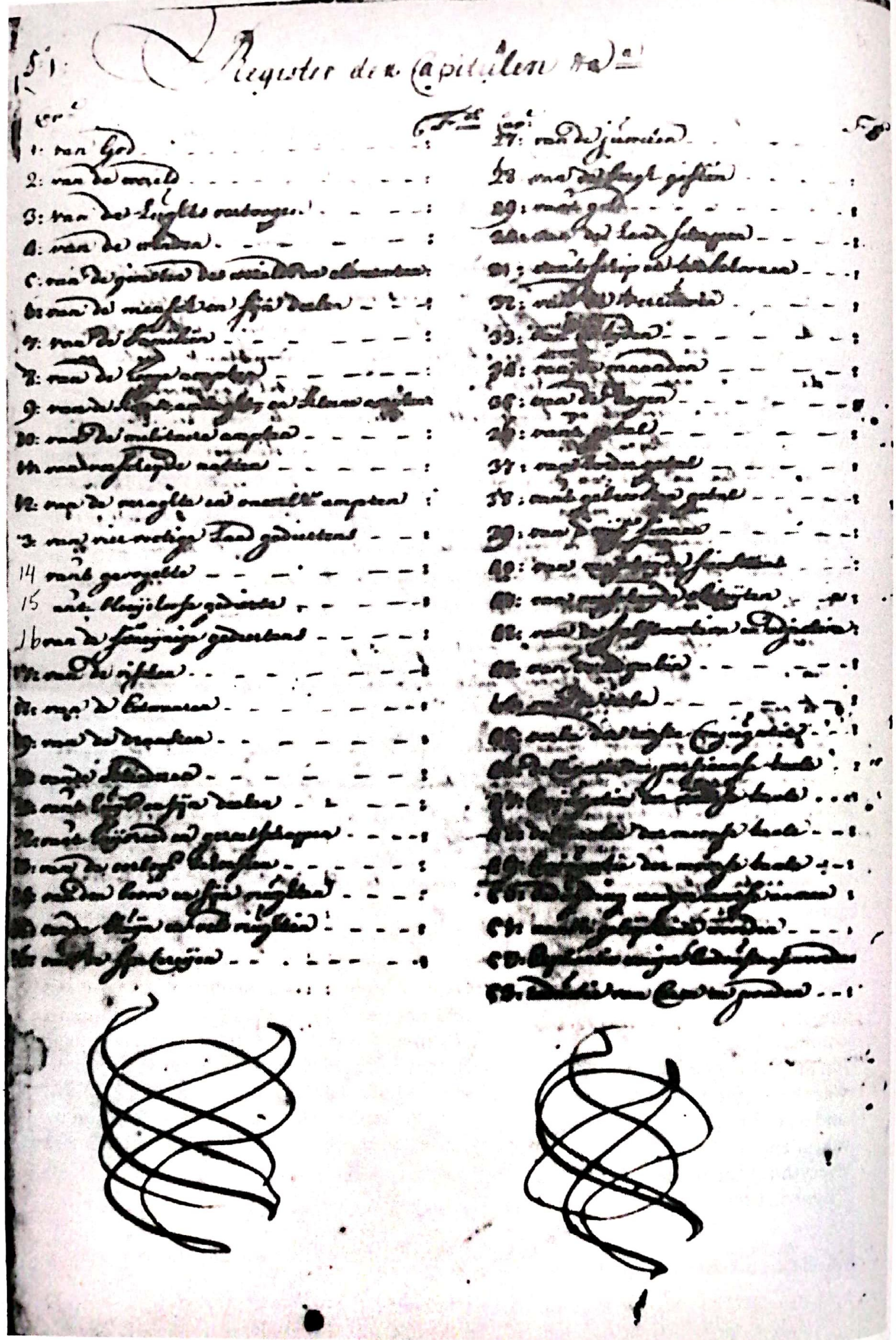
Ad Lectorem Benevolum

Hij is soo seer niet te laeken, die niet off wijnigh kan, als berispens waerdigh, die niet traght om iets te leeren. want wat onderschijd vind men bij een luijaert en een onvernuftigh schepsel; is een van bijde te bestraffen, soo is ’teen traegh mensche, want dese van God tot sijn evenbeeld geschaapen zijnde, behoorde zigh den tijd tot ondersoekingh van konsten en ambaghten niet te laten verdrieten, om daar door niet alleen zijn eijgen voordeel maer ook het nut van een ander te bejagen. het fondament dan van alle weetsieke menschen gemoederen, is de teal kunde, waer door men zijn geboorte plaatse verlatende, veele landen kan door reijsen, en rijsende veel nut baaren; want in een vreemt land sonder taelkunde vind men sigh med een stomme geevenaert, hoe wel vele van occasie tot leering van dien versteeken blijven, welke men niet behoorde te beschimpen, maar die geene aan welke sigh de occasie presenteerd, en verslijten de tijd med de handen in de schoot en slaperige sinnen; zijn zulk dubbeld waerd. ’tledig loopen is tot het copieeren van dit boekje oorsaek geweest; ’twelk ik hope meer medeleijden dan schimp sal meriteren, en gelijck niets volmaekt werd gevonden soo sal dit werkje als door een leerling ondernomen van fouten niet suijver gevonden werden dogh een verstandig gemoed keert alles ten besten (was getekent Isaak van der hoeven)

### English Translation of Figure 2

To the Kind Reader

He is not so much to blame who cannot do much, as the one who does not try to learn something is worthy of reprimand, because what distinction is there between a sluggard and a dumb creature? If one of these is to be punished, then it is the sluggard, because this man having been created by God in His image, should not be sad to spend his time in searching the arts and trades to strive not only for his own advantage, but also for the good of others. The foundation of all inquisitive human minds is the study of language through which one can leave his birthplace, travel through many countries and during the travels generate much profit, because in a foreign country without knowledge of the language, one feels himself as a dumb person. Although many remain deprived of the opportunity to learn, such people one should not scold, but one should scold those to whom the opportunity presents itself and (who) spend the time with their hands in their lap and with a sleepy mind, deserving such scolding doubly. Not having anything to do was the reason for copying this booklet which I hope will deserve more pity than scorn, and as nothing ever was found to be perfect, this little work, as if it were undertaken by a student, will not be found void of mistakes; however, an intelligent mind changes everything for the better.
(Signed, Isaak van der Hoeve)



Register der Capitulen

Figure 3

## Register der Capitulen
## (Table of Contents)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | van God | 1. | (of) God |
| 2. | van de wereld | 2. | (of) the world |
| 3. | van de lught vertoogen | 3. | (of) the air |
| 4. | van de winden | 4. | (of) the winds |
| 5. | van de gewesten der wereld en elementen | 5. | (of) the parts of the world |
| 6. | van de mensch en sijn deelen | 6. | (of) man and his parts |
| 7. | van de familien | 7. | (of) the family |
| 8. | van de hooge ampten | 8. | (of) high offices |
| 9. | van de kunst ambaght en kleene ampten | 9. | (of) the arts and lower offices |
| 10. | van de militaire ampten | 10. | (of) the military offices |
| 11. | van verscheyde natien | 11. | (of) different nations |
| 12. | van de veraghte en oneerlike ampten | 12. | (of) the despised and dishonorable occupations |
| 13. | van viervoetige land gediertens | 13. | (of) the quadrupeds |
| 14. | van't gevogelte | 14. | (of) the birds |
| 15. | van't bloeijeloose gedierde | 15. | (of) bloodless creatures [insects] |
| 16. | van de feneijnige gediertens | 16. | (of) poisonous animals |
| 17. | van de vischen | 17. | (of) the fish |
| 18. | van de Eetwaaren | 18. | (of) foods |
| 19. | van de dranken | 19. | (of) beverages |
| 20. | van de kleederen | 20. | (of) clothes |
| 30.* | van't huis en sijn deelen | 30.* | (of) the house and its parts |
| 32.* | van't huijsraad en gereetschappen | 32.* | (of) furniture and tools |
| 23. | van de oorlogs behoeften | 23. | (of) needs in war |
| 24. | van den boom en sijn vrughten | 24. | (of) trees and their fruits |
| 25. | van de thuijn en veld vrughten | 25. | (of) the garden and its field fruits [crops] |
| 26. | van de specereijen | 26. | (of) spices |
| 27. | van de juweelen | 27. | (of) jewels |
| 28. | van de giften | 28. | (of) poisons |
| 29. | van gelt | 29. | (of) money |
| 30. | van de landschappen | 30. | (of) landscapes |
| 31. | van't schip en toebehooren | 31. | (of) the ship and what belongs to it |
| 32. | van de verruwen | 32. | (of) paints |
| 33. | van de tijden | 33. | (of) the times |
| 34. | van de maanden | 34. | (of) the months |
| 35. | van de dagen | 35. | (of) the days |
| 36. | van't getal | 36. | (of) numbers |
| 37. | van't order getal | 37. | (of) ordinals |
| 38. | van't gebrooken getal | 38. | (of) fractions |
| 39. | van de vijf sinnen | 39. | (of) the five senses |
| 40. | van de verscheijde siecktens | 40. | (of) different illnesses |
| 41. | van verscheijde oliteteijn | 41. | (of) different oils |
| 42. | van de substantiva en adjectiva | 42. | (of) diverse nouns and adjectives |
| 43. | van de adverbia | 43. | (of) adverbs |
| 44. | van de verba | 44. | (of) verbs |
| 45. | verba der eerste conjugatie | 45. | verbs of the first conjugation |
| 46. | declinatie der Persiaanse taale | 46. | declension of the Persian language |
| 47. | conjugatie der Persiaanse taale | 47. | conjugation of the Persian language |
| 48. | declinatie der moorse taale | 48. | declension of the Moorish language |
| 49. | conjugatie der moorse taale | 49. | conjugation of the Moorish language |
| 50. | beduijding eeniger moorse namen | 50. | meaning of some Moorish names |
| 51. | naast gelijckende woorden | 51. | similar words |
| 52. | explicatie eeniger hindoustanse woorden | 52. | explanation of some Hindustani words |
| 53. | deductie van caren en ponden | 53. | deduction of caren and pounds |

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* Note the numbering error in the manuscript.

Hindi can be written in native scripts, it is a common practice to write it in Persian letters. In regard to the variety of Hindi under investigation in his work, he remarks that his target is the spoken variety. The treatment of these two points is sketchy but objective and accurate in nature.

However, as far as the third point is concerned, it is a totally different story. In discussing the problems of representing the correct Hindi pronunciation in Dutch (or German), Ketelaar's objective linguistic approach gives way to a subjective one. On several occasions, his personal attitudes interfere with his extraordinary talent for linguistic analysis. On such occasions he emerges as a representative of a colonial power rather than of the linguistic sciences. Ketelaar failed to recognize three underlying reasons for the problem at hand: (a) the phonetic and phonological differences between Dutch and Hindi, namely the absence of features such as aspiration and retroflexion in Dutch, (b) the inadequacy of the Dutch writing system to capture the specific phonetic/phonological properties of Hindi, and (c) human limitations in transcribing natural spoken speech in the absence of such modern recording instruments as tape recorders. Instead, he holds the habits of native speakers of Hindi responsible for the problem. He complains, for example, that many Hindi words are "half -pronounced and mumbled." This explanation is clearly a reflection of his linguistic prejudices and is responsible for his conclusion that the learning of Hindi requires a great deal of attention on the part of its learners.[30]

Unlike later traditional grammars which aim at teaching Hindi as a second language, Ketelaar's grammar does not provide a guide to the Hindi pronunciation of his Dutch transcription. He left this task to his Dutch readers. This means that he was operating with the premise that his readers must have some shared intuitions regarding the assignment of phonetic value to Dutch graphemes within a word. Even if one does not question the adequacy of this premise, the absolute reliance on the intuitions of Dutch speakers leaves his transcription subject to potentially different interpretations involving the pronunciation of Hindi words. It also places a heavy burden on modern historians of Hindi grammar in the construction of a reliable guide to his understanding of Hindi pronunciation. Under normal circumstances it would be easy to construct a guide by comparing his Dutch transcription with his target Hindi words and then writing some rules to capture the relationship of Dutch graphemes to the phonetic value of the target words. But in this case the situation is not so simple, for several reasons. First, Ketelaar was self-taught and often made predictable and systematic errors at the level of phonetics. Second, the possibility cannot be overlooked that more than one positional phonetic variant of Dutch graphemes may have existed in the seventeenth century. Third, his transcriptional system was also influenced by German.

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[30] Although one cannot dispute this general conclusion about the learning of Hindi or any other foreign language, the underlying reason given for this, poor oral linguistic performance at the level of phonetics, can hardly be correct. We may note that in the entire Hindi grammatical tradition of three centuries, no other European grammarian made a similar observation.

A glance at the table of contents reveals the unique format of the oldest Hindi grammar. It begins with a dictionary component. In all other grammars, the dictionary follows the grammar component. Even in those dictionaries which present a grammatical sketch, the grammar component precedes the dictionary. Some of the topics covered in the dictionary (lists of poisons, tropical illnesses, needs in war, poisonous animals, etc.) uniquely distinguish Ketelaar's work from succeeding grammars. In addition, the dictionary component follows a sequence that is unique for such work. My analysis of the contents and sequence of contents of approximately three hundred Hindi grammars from the eighteenth to the twentieth century shows that in no other grammar does the vocabulary component begin with an ordered set of lexicons dealing with such semantic classes as "God," "the world," "the air," and "the winds." Even the grammars written by missionaries for missionaries do not begin with such a sequence.[31]

The main body of the work consists of a lexicon and a grammar. The first seventy-five pages are devoted to a lexicon of the Hindi language. The vocabulary section shows that Ketelaar made an attempt to provide Persian equivalents of the Hindi lexical items but could not complete the Persian section; a significant portion of it is left blank. The rest of the manuscript is devoted primarily to the grammatical sketch of Hindi. A sample grammar page is shown in fig. 4. Only ten pages of the grammar section are devoted to Persian grammar.

Three noteworthy properties of the grammar emerge at first glance. First, it is primarily data oriented in nature. Contrary to the underlying generic nature of traditional Hindi grammars, it places heavy emphasis on presenting data rather than on formulating rules. Second, the grammar developed in the lexicographic tradition. Equal emphasis is given to the dictionary of Hindi and to the grammatical sketch of the language. This property distinguishes it from

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[31] It should not be concluded from this discussion that special purpose, bilingual vocabularies and word lists to meet the different needs of merchants, missionaries, military, or ordinary travelers never formed a part of Hindi grammar. Such lists were provided but not in such an orderly, extensive fashion as found in Ketelaar's grammar. Ann Hvenekilde claims that perhaps the pattern of Ketelaar's dictionary arrangement can be traced back to J.A. Comenius's Latin reader *Linguaram reserta* (1631) in which the contents (vocabulary) are ordered according to the world of the Bible—first is the creator, then other things follow in the order of their creation. (Personal communication, August 20, 1984.) For more details on the pedagogical conception of Comenius and its impact on the teaching of the Norwegian lexicon, see Ann Hvenekilde, "Laerebøker i norsk som fremnedspråk, *Norskrift*, Department of Scandinavian Languages and Literature, Oslo, Norway, University of Oslo, 1979, 25, pp. 46-74.

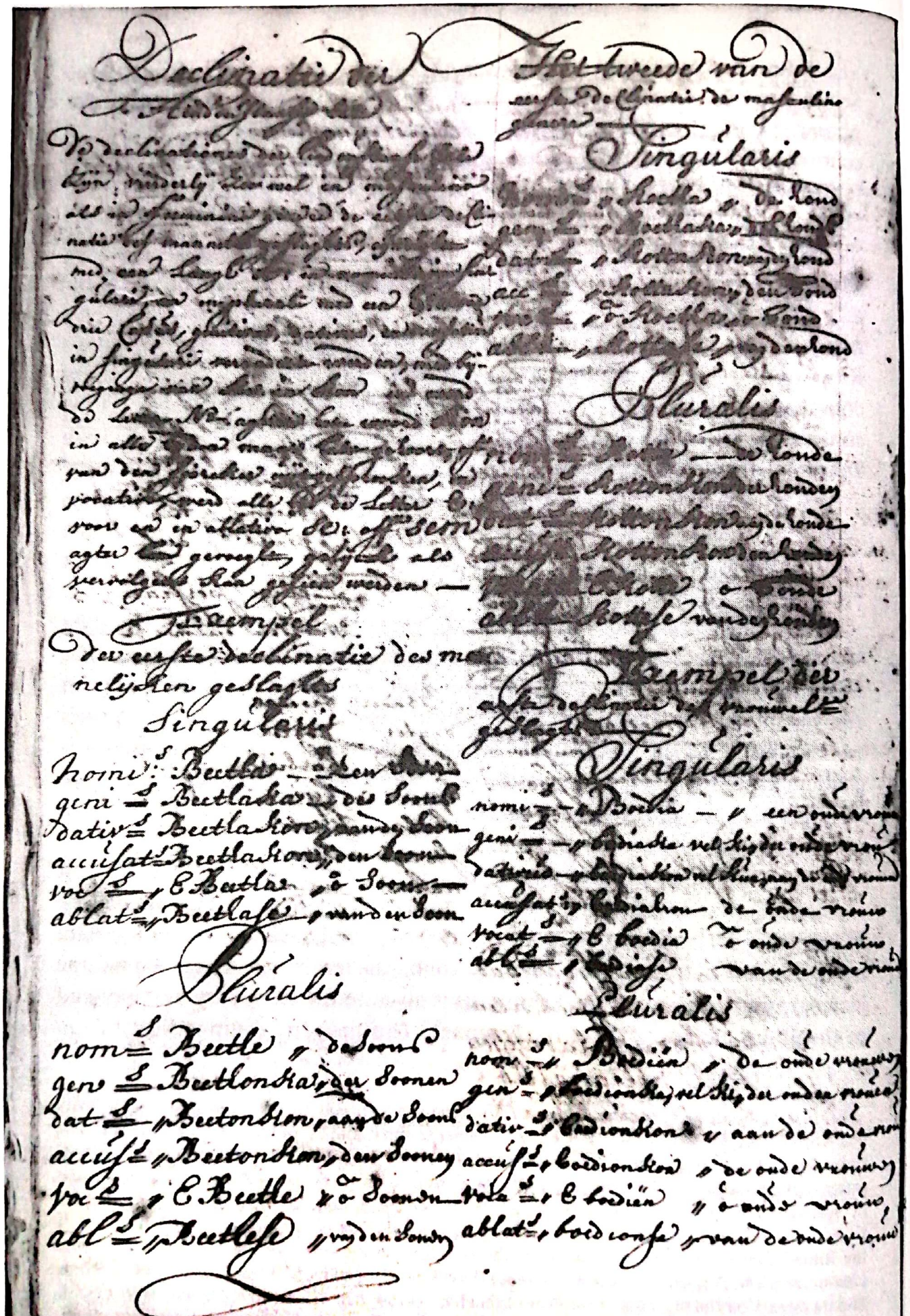

Figure 4

both the preceding Indian grammatical tradition and the succeeding Hindi one. In those traditions, lexicography was seen as an independent component of language pedagogy and was rarely mingled with the grammatical component. Two notable exceptions in Hindi were Hadley (1772) and Yates (1827). Third, the grammar was intended as a two-language grammar, that is, of Hindi and Persian, and is thus one of the earliest attempts to write a two-language grammar.

Yet another distinctive characteristic of the grammar emerges when one glances through the dictionary section. Ketelaar divided the Hindi lexicon into a set of forty semantic classes. Although some of the classes, such as the family, numerals, names of days, months, and man and the parts of the body overlap with those in traditional grammars, most of them fall in the domain of what are termed grammars for "special purposes." The inclusion of classes of vocabulary dealing with high offices, the despised and dishonest professions, military offices, jewels, money, the ship and what belongs to it, and the like is rare. All these properties (except for the first one) mark a point of departure from the usual trend in the development of a grammatical tradition of a language, since they are generally viewed as late developments in a grammatical tradition.[32]

The grammar component gives the basic outline of Hindi grammar. In addition, it presents the Hindi translation of ten Lord's Prayers. The grammatical categories postulated for Hindi and their treatment are similar to those of traditional grammars: nominal, adjectival, pronominal, adverbial, and verbal categories.

Hindi nouns are marked by number, gender, and case: two numbers (singular and plural), two genders (masculine and feminine), and six cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, and ablative). The four conjugational patterns of Hindi nouns show that Ketelaar intended to develop a purely phonetically based classification of nouns. According to this classification, Hindi nouns may end in any of the four phonetic segments, *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, or a consonant. These four types take a regular set of inflections and postpositions. The task of spelling out the exact process of inflection attachment is left to readers to work out from the paradigms of nouns, as shown in Figure 4.[33]

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[32] For example, the English grammatical tradition had to wait for approximately four centuries before the writing of such grammars gained momentum in the 1970s, when English began to dominate as a world language. For further details see Peter Strevens, "English for special purposes: An analysis and survey," *Studies in Language Learning*, J. Rowan Cowan (ed.), 1977, Vol. 2, N°. 1, pp. 111-135. The contrasting developments of Hindi and English grammars thus suggest that some form of political or linguistic colonialism especially stimulates the growth of grammars for "special purposes."

[33] In an effort to analyze inflection attachment rules, Mills observed that nouns ending in *ā* become *e* in their plural form. Mills does not mention that the rule was his contribution, thus

Pronouns are classified into four classes: personal, demonstrative, relative, and possessive.[34] Of these four types only personal pronouns are presented with complete paradigms. The second person pronouns follow the paradigm of the first person.[35] What is noteworthy is that in the paradigms of the second person pronouns there is a complete omission of the honorific pronoun *āp*. The paradigm of the third person is full of errors and fails to distinguish between the paradigms of the proximate demonstrative pronoun *yah* (this) and the third person pronoun *vah* (he/she).[36]

No paradigm is provided for the other three pronominal types. Only their partial listing coupled with their use in some Hindi sentences is presented. What did Ketelaar actually mean by the term "relative" pronoun? It is difficult to tell because the examples given are not of relative pronouns. It seems that he confused Hindi relative pronouns with interrogative pronouns.[37] The motivation for postulating a separate class of possessive pronouns seems to be that they are marked for the number and gender of the following nouns and hence have the three distinct phonetic shapes of every possessive pronoun.[38]

Two important features of Ketelaar's analysis of pronouns are the discussion of negative particles and sociolinguistic constraints on Hindi pronominal usage. Since the treatment of negative particles is also provided under the section on pronouns, it gives the impression that Ketelaar favored the

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creating a misconception that Ketelaar made some attempts in the direction of rule formulation. See Vechoor, op. cit., p. 45. The rule suffers from overgeneralization because only the masculine singular nouns end in *ā* and become *e* in their plural form. For the exceptions to this rule, see R.S. McGregor, *Outline of Hindi Grammar*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 1; Franklin C. Southworth, *The Student's Hindi-Urdu Reference Manual*, Tucson: University of Arizona, 1971, pp. 40-41.

[34] According to Vechoor, Ketelaar divided pronouns into the following four classes: personal (*purushvācak*), definite (*nishcayavācak*), possessive (*sambandhavācak*), and reflexive (*nijvācak*). The two classes definite and reflexive are Vechoor's deviation from Ketelaar, op. cit., p. 48.

[35] Grierson notes that Ketelaar's use of the Hindi first person plural genitive form *apre* for the Hindi first person plural genitive form *hamārā*, is the influence of Gujarati.

[36] Hindi pronouns do not make any distinction between the accusative and dative forms. Ketelaar, however, systematically makes this distinction in his data. Perhaps the dialectal variation found in these two cases, i.e., standard first person dative/accusative form, *mujh ko*, and its dialectal and colloquial counterpart, *mere ko* (derived from oblique possessive form plus the dative/accusative marker *ko*), motivated him to postulate a distinction between dative and accusative forms. He mistakenly associated the colloquial forms with accusative forms only. In order to make a three-way distinction between the possessive, dative and accusative, he further eliminated the case marker *ko* from the colloquial forms, thus retaining the derived (oblique) possessive form for the accusative. The Mills version cites *ham ko* as the dative form of the first person plural pronoun.

[37] Since Ketelaar provides the examples of interrogative pronouns under the heading "relative pronouns," Mills took the liberty of correcting this error. Following Mills, op. cit., p. 462, Vechoor, op. cit., p. 49, and Chatterjī, 1933, op. cit., p. 80, made the same correction in their works.

[38] For example, the three possessive forms of the first person singular pronoun are: *merā* (mas. sg.), *mere* (mas. pl.), and *merī* (fem.).

treatment of negative particles as pronouns. The three particles identified by Ketelaar are: *na*, *ney*, and *mat*. As regards the position of the negative particles in a sentence, the only observation made is that *mat* can appear either preverbally or postverbally.[39] It is also noted that honorific forms are always expressed by employing the plural forms of pronouns. However, the singular forms are used to address those younger than the speaker.[40] Under the titles "substantive" and "adjective" the derivation of nouns from adjectives and vice versa is dealt with. Primarily, three processes are discussed. The first deals with the derivation of nouns from adjectives by the addition of *ī*.[41] The second concerns the description of agentive nouns by the addition of *cī*,[42] *wālā*,[43] and *dās*.[44] The last process permits the derivation of adjectives from a noun by the addition of two morphemes, *gār*[45] and *dār*.[46] The formation of comparative and superlative adjectives received considerable attention in the discussion of adjectives. The honorific particle *jī*[47] and the feminine suffix *-in*[48] also receive attention under adjectives.

In regard to the tense system, Ketelaar points out that Hindi has eight tenses—present, imperfect, perfect, future, second future, imperative, infinitive, and pluperfect. Table 1 is an example of his conjugations of Hindi verbs.[49] The discussion of tenses is in a premature stage and the data presented in the conjugations are not free of error. It seems from the discussion and conjugations that Ketelaar had the following tense scheme in mind: (1) Present, (2) Perfect, (3) Imperative, (4) Imperfect, (5) Infinitive, and (6) Future. The Perfect and Future are further subdivided into Perfect and 2nd Perfect, Future and 2nd Future, respectively.

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[39] Ketelaar, 1698, op. cit., grammar section, p. 13; Mills, op. cit., p. 463.

[40] Ketelaar, ibid., p. 13; Mills, ibid., p. 462.

[41] As follows, *xūb* (much) + ī = *xūbī* (quality), Ketelaar, ibid., p. 13.

[42] As follows, *top* (cannon) + *cī* = *topcī* (gunner), ibid., p. 13.

[43] As follows, *lakrī* (wood) + *wālā* (seller) = *lakrī wālā* (wood seller), ibid., p. 13.

[44] This morpheme is wrongly identified as *dās*. Actually Ketelaar's target morpheme was Perso-Arabic *-dāz* or *andāz*: *tīrandāz*, ibid., p. 13.

[45] As follows, *gunah* (guilt) + *gār* = *gunahgār* (guilty), ibid., p. 13.

[46] As follows, *zamīn* (land) + *dār* = *zamīndār* (landlord), ibid., p. 13.

[47] According to Ketelaar, the particle *jī* (Ketelaar's *dsjieve*) is an indicator of affection and devotion, ibid., p. 13.

[48] For example, *dhobī* + *in* = *dhobin* (female washerman), ibid., p. 13.

[49] The form given in Mills's version is *ro* and *ree*, respectively.

*TABLE 1*
Verb: *honā* (to be)

| Tenses | Singular I, II and III Person | | Plural I, II and III Person | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Target Form | Ketelaar 1698 | Target Form | Ketelaar 1698 |
| Present | hai | he | ho | hoe |
| Imperfect | huā | hoea | hue | hoeé |
| Perfect | huā thā | hoeétha | hue the | hoeéthe |
| Pluperfect [2nd Perfect] | * | hoegea | * | hougee |
| Future | hū̃gā | hunga | hū̃gā | hunga |
| Second Future | hū̃gā | hoonga | hū̃ge | hoonge |
| Imperative | ho | (toe) ho[49] | ho | (tom) hee[49] |
| Infinitive | * | hoea hoee | — | hoeé |

* The target form is difficult for me to identify.

The classification schemes have several shortcomings. The most serious is that Ketelaar failed to distinguish among tenses (present, perfect, and future), moods (imperative, etc.), and participles (imperfect, etc.). Also, it seems that variations and exceptions motivate his subclassification of perfect and future tense.[50]

An overview of this component shows that Ketelaar's treatment of Hindi grammar is quite rudimentary and does not have much depth from the point of view of current developments in Hindi grammar. This is not unexpected when we consider that it is a pioneer work which came into being under severe handicaps. Several topics of Hindi grammar, such as its writing system, phonetics, and phonology, received no attention.

The omission of the writing system provides further insights into Ketelaar's unconventional approach to language pedagogy. The history of the Indic grammatical tradition is testimony to the fact that Indic scripts held a special fascination for nonnative grammarians.[51] Ketelaar's departure from this traditional approach by nonnative grammarians cannot be overlooked.

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[50] For details, see the section "Problems and shortcomings" below.

[51] It was the most striking feature of the Chinese approach to Sanskrit. "To the Chinese, the alphabet meant everything. They simply assumed that knowledge of the Sanskrit script was as important a feature of Sanskrit as knowledge of characters is of Chinese" (Staal 1972, p. 5). This attitude has remained an important characteristic of all nonnative approaches to Indic languages. For the complete reference, see Chapter One.

Throughout the grammar Ketelaar employed the Roman script in the transcription of his Hindi data.

The grammar is not free from shortcomings. Ketelaar committed errors, both transcriptional and factual, at all linguistic levels: phonetics/phonology, morphology, and syntax. However, these errors do not undermine the value of the grammar in any important way. Its merits significantly outweigh its shortcomings.

### 2.2.4 *A Reassessment of Ketelaar's Grammar*

Our new findings based on direct evidence call for a reassessment of earlier reports of Ketelaar's grammar.

The importance of the manuscript goes far beyond asserting its mere existence. It now has a unique place in the grammatical tradition of Hindi and fills the single most serious gap in our knowledge of Hindi grammar. It provides a major research tool for students of linguistics and Indic languages.

For historical linguists, it provides access to rare samples of spoken Hindi of the late seventeenth century. Hindi literature fails as a reliable indicator of the actual pronunciation because it is written in the Devanāgarī script, a syllabic writing system. In a syllabic writing system a grapheme represents a syllable whereas in an alphabetic writing system, a symbol represents one sound. Compare, for example the Roman grapheme *k* and its Devanāgarī equivalent grapheme क . The Roman symbol represents only one sound whereas the Devanāgarī symbol represents two. The phonetic value of क is *k* + *a*, i.e., the vowel *a* (called schwa and symbolized phonetically as ə) is inherently present in the Devanāgarī consonant symbol. Although in actual spoken Hindi the inherent vowel *a* is dropped under some conditions, the Devanāgarī writing system fails to mark its deletion and thus does not provide linguists with evidence for a rule called the schwa syncope rule which operates in modern Hindi in the following environment:[52]

Schwa Syncope Rule

$$a \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \underset{[\text{-nasal}]}{V} \qquad C\text{——}C + V$$

This is, the stem-final schwa undergoes deletion between two consonants if the preceding consonant is preceded by a nonnasal vowel (i.e., an oral vowel) and if the following consonant takes a suffix beginning with a vowel. This rule deletes schwa in cases such as the following:

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[52] This rule is discussed in detail in Tej K. Bhatia and Michael J. Kenstowicz, "Nasalization in Hindi: A reconsideration," *Papers in Linguistics*, 1972, 5:2, pp. 202-212. Also see Manjari Ohala, "Topics in Hindi-Urdu phonology," UCLA, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1972, pp. 202-207.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Underlying representation: | /kamar + ā/ (room) | /laṛak + ā/ (boy) |
| Schwa sycope rule: | kamr + ā | laṛk + ā |
| Phonetic representation: | [kamrā] | [laṛkā] |

However, the vowel schwa fails to undergo deletion in the following case in which its structural description is not met:

Underlying representation: /laṛak/+/pan/ (childhood)
Schwa syncope rule: (not applicable)
Phonetic representation: [laṛakpan]

Since Ketelaar employs Roman transcription for his Hindi data, his work preserves important information about the phonetics and phonology of seventeenth-century spoken Hindi. For example, Ketelaar's Hindi equivalent of *lightning* presents evidence in favor of the existence of the schwa syncope rule in seventeenth-century Hindi.

The oldest grammar also serves as a valuable document for Hindi second-language acquisition studies. Second-language acquisition is one of those areas of Hindi linguistics in which little work has been done. Since there were no grammars of Hindi prior to 1698 and since no tradition of teaching Hindi as a second language developed in those times, the earliest grammarians were "self-taught learners" of Hindi as a second language. Consequently, their works are either "self-monitored" or totally "unedited." They represent raw data or rare data on the learning of Hindi as a second language in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ketelaar's transcription of Hindi words presents crucial information on his development of Hindi phonetics. Tables 2 and 3 show how some phonemic sounds were perceived and transcribed by Ketelaar. An examination of the tables reveals the hierarchy of difficulty for a Western adult learning Hindi as a second language and his range of perceptual interference. The tables read in the following manner. The first line in Table 2 shows that the target Hindi vowel *a* was correctly and commonly perceived as *a*, frequently as *e*, rarely as *o* [*o*], and exceptionally as [*əe*].

On the basis of Table 2 and Table 3, we can determine or hypothesize Ketelaar's first, second and third probable errors. The first probable error indicates Ketelaar's most commonly or frequently committed error, whereas second and third probable errors refer to his rarely and exceptionally committed errors, respectively.

The analysis of error indicates that confusion on vowels was higher and more widespread than on consonants. Among the consonants, Hindi velar and dental consonants were very easily perceived by Ketelaar. The two series of consonants which posed problems for him were palatals and retroflex consonants. Either retroflexion was not perceived or no attempt was made to mark

*TABLE 2*

| Target Vowel | Vowel as Perceived and Transcribed by Ketelaar | | | | Ketelaar's Examples | Target Counterpart, Target Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Common | Frequent | Rare | Exception | | |
| a अ | a | e | o | [ɔe] | k*a*rta<br>g*e*a<br>s*o*msje<br>h*əe*ddi | kartā 'does'<br>gayā 'went'<br>s*a*mjhe 'understand'<br>haḍḍi 'bone' |
| ā आ | aa | a, e | o | ao | m*aa*<br>pucht*e*<br>karr*o*m*a*t<br>n*ao*m | mā 'mother'<br>pūchtā 'ask'<br>karāmāt 'magic'<br>nām 'name' |
| i इ | i | — | ei | u | g*i*n<br>d*ei*n<br>d*u*wana | gin 'count'<br>din 'day'<br>diwānā 'crazy' |
| ī ई | ie [ī] | i, y | e | — | t*ie*r<br>teer*i*<br>bha*y*<br>gier*e* | tīr 'arrow'<br>ter*i* 'your'<br>bhaī 'brother'<br>giri 'fell' |
| u उ | u | o | oe | a | p*u*kar<br>m*o*ft | pukār 'call'<br>mufta 'free' |
| ū ऊ | oe | u | — | — | p*oe*roeb | pūrab 'east' |
| e ए | ee | e | əe | a | b*ee*tha<br>tsjy*e*<br>toesj*əe* | betā 'son'<br>cāhiye 'want'<br>tujhe 'to you' |
| ai [əe] ऐ | ai [əe] | e | ey | a | b*ai*th<br>s*e*than<br>p*ey*ssa | bəeth 'sit'<br>səetān 'satan'<br>paisa 'money' |
| o ओ | oo | o | — | — | dh*oo*bi<br>g*o*rra | dhobī 'washerman'<br>ghorā 'horse' |
| au [ɔ] औ | o | oo | ou | a | k*o*n<br>*oo*r<br>d*ou*re | kaun 'who'<br>ɔr 'and'<br>dɔṛe 'ran' |

retroflexion in the text. It is interesting to note that Ketelaar's transcription does not make any distinction between palatals and fricatives. Ketelaar also experienced great difficulty with aspirates. Aspirates were almost always heard as unaspirates; however, interestingly enough, unaspirates were sometimes heard as aspirates. Also, the word-medial glottal *h* almost always remained unheard. Vowel nasalization was either not heard or was transcribed by *n* (see Table 1).

The grammar also provides a rare look into seventeenth-century methods of teaching foreign languages. A comparison of the oldest Hindi grammar with succeeding grammars shows a significant shift in content after Ketelaar. No grammar since his has provided special lists of poisons, dangerous animals, oils, tropical illnesses, military needs, weather elements, and religious terms.

*TABLE 3*

| Target Consonant | Consonant as Perceived and Transcribed by Ketelaar | | | | Ketelaar's Examples | Target Counterpart,* Target Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Common | Frequent | Rare | Exception | | |
| k क | k | kk | — | — | *k*aam | kām 'work' |
| | | | | | ak*k*la | akelā 'alone' |
| kʰ ख | k | kk, ch | kgh | g | ra*k* | rakh 'put' |
| | | | | | suk*k*a | sūkkā 'dry' |
| | | | | | si*ch*aya | si*kh*aya 'teaching' |
| | | | | | *kgh*attre | khātā 'eat' |
| | | | | | ra*g* | rakh 'keep' |
| g ग | g | gh | — | — | *g*irre | girā 'fell' |
| | | | | | *gh*in | gin 'count' |
| gh घ | g | — | — | — | *g*ora | ghoṛā 'horse' |
| c च | tsj | ts, tsch | sch | s | *tsj*ok | cauk 'crossing' |
| | | | | | *ts*itter | citra 'picture' |
| | | | | | miri*tsch* | miric 'pepper' |
| | | | | | ken*sch*te,<br>ken*s*te | khīctā 'pull' |
| ch छ | tsj | ts | s | — | *tsj*orre | *ch*orā 'boy' |
| | | | | | poe*ts*te | puchte 'ask' |
| j ज | dsj, j | sj, ds | dz, dj | s | *dsj*ate | jātā 'gone' |
| | | | | | *sj*awaab | jāwāb 'answer' |
| | | | | | *ds*ante | jantā 'know' |
| | | | | | *dz*amata | jamā 'add' |
| | | | | | *j*o | jo 'who' |
| | | | | | ha*dj*am | hajjām 'barber' |
| | | | | | pin*s*ra | pinjra 'cage' |
| jh झ | dsj | sj | s | — | *dsj*ot | jhūth 'lie' |
| | | | | | sam*sj*e | samjhē 'understood' |
| | | | | | toe*sj*re | tujhe 'to you' |
| | | | | | boo*s* | bojh 'burden' |
| ṭ ट | t, th | — | — | — | roo*t*ie | rōti 'bread' |
| | | | | | bee*th*a | beta 'son' |
| ṭh ठ | t, th | tth | — | — | djoe*t* | jūth 'left over' |
| | | | | | be*th*, be*tth* | baiṭh 'sit' |
| ḍ ड | d, dh | | — | — | *d*er | ḍar 'fear' |
| | | | | | *dh*oeba | ḍūbā 'drowned' |
| ḍh ढ | d | — | — | — | *d*ounte | ḍhūḍhtā 'search' |
| ṇ ण | n | — | — | — | baa*n* | bān 'arrow' |
| t त | t | th | — | — | *t*om | tum 'you' |
| | | | | | koe*th*a | kuttā 'dog' |
| th थ | t | th | — | — | hā*t* | hāth 'hand' |
| | | | | | *th*e | thā 'was' |
| d द | d | dh | — | — | *d*eete | detā 'give' |
| | | | | | koe*dh*e | kūdē 'jumped' |
| | | | | | an*d*eer | andhēr 'dark' |
| | | | | | *dh*oed | dūdh 'milk' |

* In all cases the target form may not be same as the standard form.

*TABLE 3 (Continued)*

| Target Consonant | Consonant as Perceived and Transcribed by Ketelaar | | | | Ketelaar's Examples | Target Counterpart, Target Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Common | Frequent | Rare | Exception | | |
| dh ध | d | — | — | — | an*d*er | andherā 'dark' |
| n न | n | — | — | — | a*n*der | andherā 'dark' |
| p प | p, ph | b | — | — | baa*b* | bāp 'father' |
| ph फ | p | — | — | — | *p*al | phal 'fruit' |
| b ब | b, bh | — | — | — | *bh*el | bail 'ox' |
| bh भ | b | — | — | — | *b*aloe | bhālu 'bear' |
| m म | m | — | — | — | ta*m*boe | tambū 'tent' |
| y य | j | — | — | — | dhaai*j*n | ḍāyan 'witch' |
| r र | r | — | — | — | tsjee*r* | sher 'lion' |
| l ल | l | — | — | — | *l*aa*l* | lāl 'red' |
| v व | w | — | — | — | sja*w*aab | jawāb 'reply' |
| sh श | tsj | — | — | — | *tsj*asda | shahzādā 'prince' |
| s स | s | — | — | — | *s*amsje | samjhe 'understand' |
| h ह | h | ø [zero] | — | — | hadjam<br>ree | hajjām 'barber'<br>rahe 'lived' |
| ṛ ड़ | r | d | — | — | took*r*a<br>ba*d*aa | tukṛā 'piece'<br>baṛā 'big' |
| ṛh ढ़ | d | r | | | boe*d*ia | buṛhiyā 'old woman' |

Moreover, modern grammars place much more importance on grammar itself than did Ketelaar's and reflect a significant shift from the pedagogical perspective of the pioneer grammarian. Ketelaar's perspective on the teaching of Hindi as a foreign language was essentially religious-colonial, which in turn was the direct consequence of his and his audience's religious and colonial outlook. This view was radically different from the current secular view of foreign language pedagogy, oriented to a general school education. Modern grammars of Hindi are written for a number of reasons, mainly to provide Indians with education for citizenship and to transmit the literary, social, and cultural values of India to others. Ketelaar, however, saw knowledge of Hindi as a tool to promote colonialism in India. His aim was not to teach literacy in Hindi but to satisfy the needs of a narrowly defined group that was interested in carrying out commercial, missionary, and colonial activities in India. To meet these needs, he was very selective in the choice and sequence of the content of his grammar. He was not interested in teaching all aspects of the language. Instead, he focused on just those classes of vocabulary items, sentence patterns, and expressions which were relevant for his own and his audience's needs. This explains the unique contextual makeup of the oldest Hindi grammar as well as its emphasis on vocabulary rather than on grammatical details.

In addition, Ketelaar's grammar provides some valuable sociolinguistic data for the study of such topics as the nature of linguistic variation and language attitudes of grammarians about three centuries ago. The selection of Hindi data is also reflective of nonlinguistic attitudes to some extent. Ketelaar employs Hindi examples of the following type: *tom meera gaulam he* (you are my slave). The presence in the vocabulary of "slave girl" and similar words and phrases can be viewed as yet another example of the author's colonialist attitude.[53]

The grammar is an invaluable document for historians of Hindi grammar. It is now possible to demonstrate the error of many claims about the Hindi grammatical tradition in general and about Ketelaar's grammar in particular that were based on Mills's version. Thus, we now know that Ketelaar's grammar was not descriptive-prescriptive in nature. It was not aimed at a general classroom audience; it did not emerge independent of the Hindi lexicographic tradition; it was not a very small work; and its data do not exhibit remarkable linguistic homogeneity. It turns out that the grammar is representative of the vernacular grammatical tradition. It presents considerable data on the language and tends to be nonprescriptive in nature. Variation in the Hindi data is one of its striking features. Except for borrowing categories from classical grammars, it does not follow their model. Ketelaar's grammar does not exhibit any preference for standard or prestigious Hindi forms nor does it hesitate to present a tentative analysis of the language at several points. It maintains the casual style of a vernacular grammar and is willing to depart from the tradition whenever it is deemed necessary either in the dictionary component or in the grammar component.

In short, the finding of the manuscript may well be the most important discovery in the approximately three-century-old tradition of scholarly work on the Hindi language. Its discovery has come at a critical time in the history of Hindi grammar when researchers were still dependent upon secondary and indirect evidence for a description of the oldest known Hindi grammar. Knowledge of Ketelaar's grammar may change the entire spectrum of Hindi grammatical scholarship. Its idiosyncratic properties point to a distinctive model of grammar that can be termed the "religious-colonial" model, providing the history of the Hindi grammatical tradition with a unique onset point. Full of surprises, Ketelaar's grammar is enlightening for historians of the Hindi grammatical tradition, and its unique makeup promises a totally new beginning for that tradition.

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[53] It may be argued that Ketelaar's Hindi data were a direct reflection of his perception of seventeenth-century India. Master-slave relationships existed under the Moguls, whose empire then reached its greatest extent. Yet it is curious that Ketelaar was the only grammarian to select such data in the main body of his work. Even his immediate successors overlooked this basic social pattern in their linguistic data. Although it is difficult to distinguish clearly between Ketelaar's own attitudes and his perception of seventeenth-century Indian society as influences on his selection of data, his introductory remarks and explanations do in fact disclose his colonialist attitudes.

## 2.3 *David Mills's Version of Ketelaar's Grammar (1743)*

If it were not for Mills's translation, perhaps Hindi grammatical scholarship would have been deprived of its pioneer treatise. But, as noted above, the translation has also played a central role in perpetuating misconceptions about Ketelaar's work.

An extensive process of reduction, addition, and modification went into Mills's work. First of all, he excluded the title page, the copyist's foreword, Ketelaar's introduction, the entire dictionary section (over half the original work), and the segment dealing with the Persian language. Mills also omitted a significant number of paradigms from the grammar component. As part of his modifications, he edited Ketelaar's work in the following way: First, he separated Persian from Hindi grammar, thus reducing a two-language grammar to a one-language grammar. Second, intensive data editing and slight editing of Ketelaar's grammatical observations were also carried out. Mills added a chapter on the writing systems and a three-page-long vocabulary section that bears no relationship to Ketelaar's dictionary section. Etymological considerations went into his selection of Hindi words and their Latin counterparts. Perhaps it was a step toward developing comparative-historical methods.

Mills's grammar is much smaller than Ketelaar's. It does, however, present the first treatment of the writing systems in the history of Hindi grammar. Perhaps Mills added this chapter to bring a valuable addition to Ketelaar's work and to fill a major gap in the first grammar.[54] The treatment of the writing system is restricted mainly to the presentation of the inventory of alphabets employed in five scripts identified as "Devanagaram," "Bālbandhu," "Ākar Nāgarī," "Elem. Brahm Tang Mung," and "Alphabetum Brahm."[55] Although Mills does not identify the script employed in the writing of the Hindi language, an examination of the scripts reveals that "Ākar Nāgarī" turns out to be a close approximation of the Devanāgarī script.

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[54] Mills credits Bayer for providing samples of the scripts. See especially Mills's preface, op. cit., p. 5. Also Grierson, 1893, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

[55] The "Devanagaram" script is characterized as the oldest script of the Brahmans, whereas "Bālbandhu" is described as the sacred script of Maharashtrians. Both scripts are employed by Brahmans. Except for their geographic currency, no other information is provided on "Ākar Nāgarī" and about "Alphabetum Brahm." "Alphabetum Brahm" is identified as the script of Bengal, whereas "Elem. Braham Tang Mung" is described as the script of Tibetans and Mongols. Finally, Mills remarks that the Hindus who are converted to Islam prefer to write in the Persian script.

The important differences between the two lies in their vowel graphemes.[56] Also, the vowel series of "Ākar Nāgarī" ends with अ्प and घा instead of अ्पं and अ्पः.[57] Other differences can be witnessed in the use of consonant letters, ष, ष and घ which are intended to denote *kha*, *ja*, and *jha*, respectively.

Mills's discussion of scripts provides some interesting information about their sociolinguistic use in India at that time. Mills points out that scripts such as "Devanagaram" are employed by Brahmins as a secret code to gain social influence and intellectual supremacy over the masses. They conduct their day-to-day business in their own scripts and guard them with utmost care. This correlation between a written code and social power was so significant in Mills's view that he employed it further as a classificatory criterion to group Indian scripts into the religious and secular alphabets.[58]

For the grammatical sketch of the language, Mills relied essentially on Ketelaar. Mills's version ends with the translation of the Lord's Prayer into Hindi.[59] Comprehension of the translation is marred by poor syntax, ill-formed tenses, and semantically deviant lexical items. The style is heavily Persianized.

### 2.3.1 *Distorting a Grammatical Tradition: Problems with Mills's Translation*

An examination of Ketelaar's manuscript changes our existing views on the nature of this important document. What has been read and reread, analyzed and reanalyzed, translated and retranslated by scholars in books and articles, that is, Mills's purported translation of the work, is very far from being a true representation of it. Mills's translation is in fact a complete reworking of the original grammar. It is especially ironic that this finding does not have to depend on an examination of the manuscript but can be confirmed by Mills's own introductory remarks, which indicate that he intentionally transformed the original work in accordance with principles of "Latin grammar," a statement unfortunately ignored by modern scholars.[60] Consequently, the existing literature on the oldest grammar (Grierson 1895, 1916,; Chatterjī 1933; Chaudharī 1972; Jādhava 1973; Shrīvastava 1973; and Vechoor 1976) has not been aware that:

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[56] These differences are not due to the phenomenon of script variation. They are due largely to the inability of the copyist to copy the Devanāgarī graphemes in an adequate fashion. The only substantive differences are reflected in the third line of the table. The Ākar Nāgarī counterparts represent the actual Hindi pronunciation of the vowels given in the right-hand column. These vowels are pronounced as *ri*, *rī*, *lri*, and *lrī*, respectively, in Hindi.

[57] According to Chatterjī (1933, p. 70), घा; is represented as अ्पः in the plate. However, a careful examination reveals that the mark [:] indicates the end of a series and is frequently used between the end of a series and the beginning of another.

[58] The terms "religious" and "secular" alphabets are essentially synonymous with secret and open alphabets, respectively. Mills does not elaborate on his classification scheme with examples of the scripts under discussion; however, since "Devanagaram" is identified only with Brahmans and "Ākar Nāgarī" is not, it is reasonable to conclude that, according to Mills's scheme, the former alphabets belong to the class of "religious" and the latter to the "secular" alphabets.

[59] According to Chatterjī (1933, op. cit., p. 82), "translations are devoid of any merit, and are specimens of what was later described in India as 'missionary vernacular.'" He further adds that Ketelaar's is a pioneer's work, and is therefore often difficult to follow, at times even unintelligible.

(1) Mills's version of the oldest grammar is heavily contaminated. As pointed out earlier, Mills added chapters, including one on the various writing systems of Hindi.

(2) Mills left at least half of Ketelaar's Hindi material out of his rendition of the grammar.

(3) Not being a scholar of the Hindi language, Mills often made errors in copying Ketelaar's data.

(4) Mills's orientation in the classical grammatical tradition (Latin) played havoc with his treatment of Hindi grammar. His conception of grammar was strictly prescriptive in nature, and thus he could not tolerate any variation in linguistic data. According to prescriptive ideas, a grammar ought to give only the uniquely "correct" forms in a language.[61] By this criterion, Ketelaar's grammar was not ideal. Mills must have been disturbed by the wide variation in its Hindi data and the apparent lack of concern for the standard form. In his view, the value of the grammar would have been undermined if the phenomenon of linguistic variation had remained unchecked in his edited version.

To remedy the problem, Mills apparently decided to introduce homogeneity by systematically eliminating linguistic variants. This task could not have been easy for him because he had no competence in the language nor could he have readily found an expert on Hindi in Europe. But these limitations did not interfere with his objective of introducing linguistic homogeneity into the grammar; he simply followed what were intuitive, arbitrary, and ad hoc criteria in editing Ketelaar's data.

The editing principle he followed was this. Given a frequent variant and a rare variant of a form, the frequently occurring variant was taken to be the correct representation of the form in question. Consider, for example, Ketelaar's declension of the Hindi noun *beṭā* (son) given in Figure 4. The noun in question is composed of two morphemes, the base morpheme *beṭ* (offspring) plus an inflexion—masculine, singular morpheme *ā*. Notice that Ketelaar's paradigm presents two variants of the base morpheme *beṭ*, i.e., *beeth* [beth] and *beet* [bet]. Analysis of his data reveals that *beeth* is a high frequency variant because it is used in ten out of twelve occurrences of the base morpheme in the declension. *Beet*, occurring twice, is then the low frequency variant. Although comparison of the low frequency variant with the actual base morpheme *beṭ* shows that the low frequency variant *beet* is a close approximation of the actual base morpheme, Mills employs only the high frequency variant in the entire declension of the noun in question. Moreover, he makes no mention of the infrequent yet more accurate variant.

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[60] See Mills, op. cit., p. 5.

[61] Nonprescriptive grammars on the other hand, refrain from making any judgments about several coexisting varieties of language. They do not advise their readers as to which form should be used when there are more than one form current in a language.

The principle of substituting high frequency variants for low frequency ones was not scientific, but in Mills's view was the best practice under the circumstances. The concern for linguistic homogeneity led Mills to edit Ketelaar's grammar drastically. Although his lack of reference to the actual forms was against the principles of text editing, it was within the spirit of the classical Latin grammatical tradition as conceived by him and others working at that time. Although the editing of the data was carried out in good faith for plausible reasons, the fact remains that it proved deleterious to our understanding of the oldest Hindi grammar. Mills both replaced correct Hindi forms with incorrect ones and vice versa. From the viewpoint of linguistic research, the replacement of incorrect forms with correct ones was as damaging as the substitution of incorrect for correct. Both types of substitution resulted in the manipulation of Ketelaar's data and set the stage for arriving at totally polarized conclusions with respect to the language.

The temptation to introduce "correct" forms in Ketelaar's grammar was not restricted to Mills alone but has continued to the present. The translation of

*TABLE 4*

| Target Form | Ketelaar's Original Version (1698) | Mills's Version (1743) | Vechoor's Version (1976) |
|---|---|---|---|
| beṭõ ko<br>sons to<br>Sons (dative case) | beetonkon | beethonkon | beṭõkõ |
| beṭiyõ se<br>daughters from<br>Daughters (ablative case) | bethiase | beetiase | beṭīase |
| sā̃ḍ<br>bull<br>Bull (nominative case) | aindloe | aadhoe | āḍū |
| bāp kā<br>father of<br>Father (genitive case) | baaba ka | baabda | bābehā |

Mills's work into Indian languages has further contaminated the original data, as Indian editors subjected them to additional changes. The reliability of Ketelaar's data has thus been systematically subverted, as demonstrated in Table 4. In the table, the three versions (Ketelaar 1698, Mills 1743, and Vechoor 1976) exhibit major variation with respect to "aspiration" (denoted by the Roman letter h̲), "retroflexion" (expressed by the symbol [.] placed beneath a letter) and "word boundary" (marked by a space). Of the three linguistic features, aspiration and retroflexion have the highest rank in the Hindi language in terms of their significance for meaning, that is, they induce semantic change in Hindi words. For example, in the first line of the table the words *beetonkon* (without aspiration), *bethonkon* (with aspiration) and *beṭõkõ* (with retroflexion) yield the meanings "to the sticks," a nonsense word and "to the sons" (ignoring the absence of word boundary), respectively. Such variation cannot be dismissed as insignificant.

In short, in addition to reshaping our existing conception of Ketelaar's grammar, finding the original manuscript eliminates a number of other misconceptions pertaining to the internal as well as the external nature of the grammar and the Hindi grammatical tradition.

### 2.3.2 *Reassessment of the Significance of Mills's Translation*

It is now clear that in the absence of Ketelaar's original document, the importance of Mills's version has been overestimated in the literature. This version can no longer be treated as a faithful representation and is in no way representative of Ketelaar's version of seventeenth-century spoken Hindi. Although the value of the Latin version is significantly undercut on these grounds, it is not reduced to a document of mere historic importance, but has new linguistic and sociolinguistic relevance. It complements the original in constructing the sociolinguistic situation of the eighteenth century. For example, Mills's version now presents evidence that the controversy over the adoption of the "classical" or the "vernacular" model of grammar was not restricted to the vernaculars of Europe but also found its extension in Asian vernaculars.

It was not an accident that Mills chose to translate Ketelaar's grammar into Latin nor was it unthinking of him to adapt it in accordance with the model of Latin grammar. His decisions were a reflection of the controversy which then dominated the European grammatical scene. The classical model of Latin grammar was on a collision course with new grammatical models of the vernaculars which challenged the supremacy of Latin grammar. Consider, for example, the case of English grammar. The earliest grammars of English were written in Latin in the sixteenth century on the pattern of Latin grammar, yet by 1572 grammarians such as Petrus Ramus were finding many Latin grammatical categories and terms to be irrelevant for English. English did not begin to free itself from the grip of Latin grammar until the second half of the seventeenth century. Mills's decision to adapt Ketelaar's grammar according to Latin grammar was largely a renewal of the debate in the context of Hindi. Being a classicist, he could not bring himself to accept a vernacular model, that of Dutch, even for Asian vernaculars.

Mills's version does, in fact, exhibit some healthy signs of improvement over the original by filling some important gaps (introduction of the writing system), eliminating some inconsistencies, and refining Ketelaar's original classification and analytical scheme whenever it was deemed necessary. Thus, it leaves an impression of being more systematic, concise, cohesive, and formalized than the original.

### 2.4 Rev. Benjamin Schultz, *Grammatica Hindostanica* (1744)[62]

Until 1893, Schultz's grammar enjoyed the status of being the oldest known grammar of Hindi. Later research, however, corrected this misconception. The grammar, written in Latin, acknowledges the existence of Ketelaar's grammar but fails to mention how Schultz came to know about it. The grammar begins with introductory remarks by the publisher followed by a brief introduction by the author. The main body of the grammar consists of six chapters and is followed by an appendix. Hindi words are written in the Perso-Arabic script and the Devanāgarī script is also included.

The introductory remarks are quite revealing for the study of the linguistic attitudes of the early grammarians. The grammar aims at teaching missionaries the Hindi language. A striking overlap can be observed in the language learning attitudes of Ketelaar's copyist and Schultz and his publisher. They are unanimous in the view that one can gain a better understanding of the beliefs and customs of other races by learning their languages. Most important, in Schultz's view, is that the learning of the languages and scripts of "uneducated or illiterate" people is essential to instructing them in their native way to impart "knowledge." This statement is obviously more a reflection of his attitudes toward non-Christians than an objective view of a grammarian about literacy and knowledge. His view of knowledge, education, and literacy was quite narrow in nature and was synonymous with knowledge of the Bible.

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[62] Its complete title is "Viri plur. Reverendi Benjamin Schultzii Missionarii Evangelici Grammatica Hindostanica collectis in diuturna inter Hindostanos Commoratione in justum Ordinem redactis ac larga Exemporum (sic) Luce perfusis Regulis constans et Missionariorum Usui consecrata. Edidit et de suscipienda barbararum Linguarum Cultura prefatus est D. Jo. Henr. Callenberg. Halle Saxonum, In typographia Instituti judaici. 1744." For the Hindi translation, see Vechoor, op. cit., pp. 71-117. According to Grierson, some copies of this grammar are also dated 1745, *LSI*, p. 8. Also see Grierson, 1895, op. cit., p. 89.

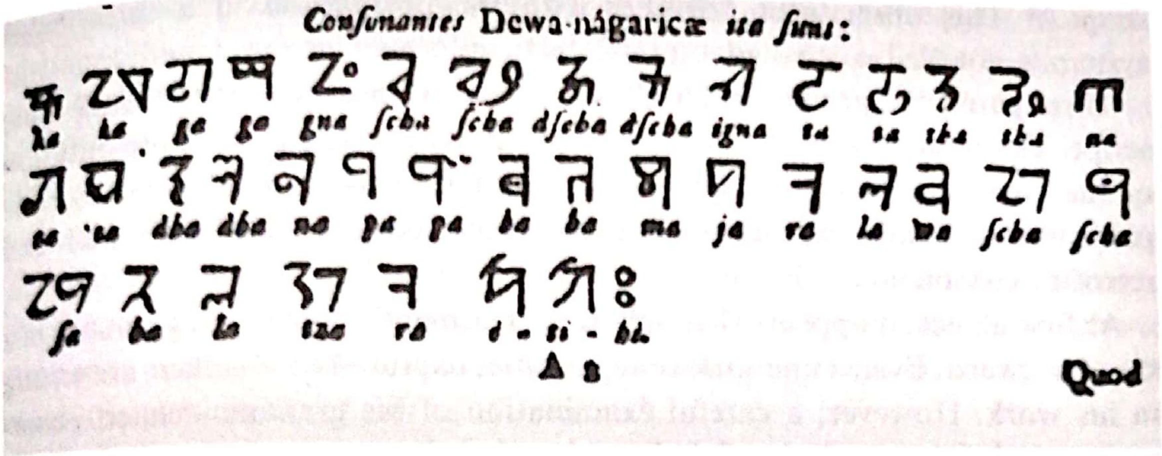
Conſonantes Dewa-nágaricæ ita ſunt:
ka ka ga ga gna ſcba ſcba dſcba dſcba igna ta ta tha tha na
na na dha dha na pa pa ba ba ma ja ra la wa ſcba ſcba
ſa ha la tza ra d - ti - bh
A 2
Quod

Figure 5

Schultz's treatment of the Hindi writing system concerns itself primarily with two points: the indigenous and nonindigenous writing systems of Hindi and the phonetic/phonological system of the language. Schultz's treatment of the writing systems differs from his predecessor Mills in two important ways: (a) a nonnative writing system, namely, the Perso-Arabic script, is systematically introduced for the first time, and (b) the Perso-Arabic writing system receives precedence over the native writing systems. Instead of the five scripts in Mills's text, only the Devanāgarī script is briefly accounted for. Its antiquity and native ties with Hindi are recognized. An examination of Schultz's Devanāgarī chart (Figure 5) reveals significant variation between Mills's and Schultz's versions. This variation in part can be attributed to individual style. Schultz did not attach much importance to Devanāgarī. Instead, he focused his attention on the Perso-Arabic script because it was preferred over Devanāgarī, in practice, by Indians in the eighteenth century.

What is even more important is that he views the script as a basis for arriving at the phonetic/phonological system of the language. The grammar postulates a three-vowel system, *a*, *ai*, and *u*/*o*, for Hindi.[63] Schultz mentions that this system rarely finds its representation in the writing of the language because vowels are written in highly restricted contexts. And this practice in turn poses some serious problems in the reading of the language, especially during the initial phases of learning it. Clearly, this observation was made with special reference to the writing of Hindi in the Perso-Arabic script, which permits the omission of the overt marking of vowels. Also, it is noteworthy that Schultz observes that the Devanāgarī alphabets share some similarities with Hebrew script.[64] This observation together with the postulation of a three-vowel system is not well motivated.

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[63] This system is expressed in terms of approximations. According to Schultz, Hindi has a three or five vowel system. His treatment of Hindi nouns reveals that he was, in fact, familiar with the existence of more than five vowels in the language.

Throughout the grammar, Hindi words are given only in the Perso-Arabic script. The treatment of the Devanāgarī script is restricted to the presentation of the consonant samples. Schultz's transcription indicates that he, like his predecessors, had problems with the correct recognition of aspirated and retroflex consonants.

At first glance, it appears that Schultz's treatment of the Hindi grammar is a step backward. Even some surface regularities captured by Ketelaar are wrong in his work. However, a careful examination of his grammar-related observations and data reveals that Schultz was attempting to account for the Dakkinī variety of Hindi, whereas the variety of Hindi under investigation in Ketelaar's grammar is similar to that of Khaṛī bolī Hindi. This explains, for example, why Schultz's grammar identifies *kũ* as a dative marker[65] and points out that in the nominative case, plural nouns end in either *-e* or *-ā*.

Like Ketelaar, Schultz postulates two genders, two numbers, and six cases for Hindi. His formulation of Hindi pluralization rules is more rigorous than that of Ketelaar. He points out that all nouns ending in *-ā* become *e* in the plural formation whereas all the other nouns (ending in *e*, *ī*, *o*, *ū*, *ai*, *au*, or a consonant) end in *-ā̃*. This rule captures adequately the distinctive property of Dakkinī Hindi. Some progress was made in the treatment of Hindi adjectives, as he notes for the first time that the present and past participial forms behave like adjectives.[66]

The chapter on pronouns is devoted to the presentation of pronominal paradigms. Unlike his predecessor, Schultz neither makes any attempt to classify Hindi pronouns nor offers any comment on the sociolinguistic usage of pronouns (i.e., plural forms are also used as honorifics, etc.). Although his pronominal forms are not totally free from error, they show much improvement over Ketelaar's grammar. What is interesting about his errors is that they are often caused not by his having received incorrect data but by interference from his source language, Latin. The following discussion will clarify this point.

Hindi pronominal forms are not marked for gender and thus do not make any distinction between masculine and feminine forms. Schultz correctly captures this underlying nature of Hindi pronouns in his treatment of first and second person pronouns. However, for the third person pronouns, he starts distinguishing between masculine and feminine pronouns. The form *unī* is treated as the feminine counterpart of the masculine form *un*. Such a treatment is offered because (1) most feminine nouns end in long *ī* in Hindi, and (2) the third person pronouns are marked for gender in European languages (*is* vs. *ea* in Latin). The interference from the source language together with the tendency of feminine nouns to end in -*ī* led to the treatment of *unī* as a feminine form. Such a treatment is inadequate, for emphatic counterparts of nonemphatic pronouns can also end in -*ī* as a result of dropping the consonant *h* of the emphatic particle *hī* (i.e., *un* + *hī* => *unī*).

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[64] Schultz observed that there is a striking similarity between the five Devanāgarī consonant graphemes and their Hebrew equivalents. These consonant graphemes are: *t*, *p*, *m*, *r*, and *h*.

[65] Schultz omits nasalization in his Roman transcription of the dative marker.

[66] He gives the example *daurtā gorā* (running horse) for the present participle. Adjectives derived from the past participle turn out to be examples of the infinitive construction: *pakī karanī huī* (cooked).

Schultz's grammar maintains that there are three tenses in Hindi—present, past and future. In comparison with Ketelaar, Schultz radically and rightly reduces the number of tenses. It is the conjugation of the verb which presents conclusive evidence that the Dakkinī variety of Hindi went into Schultz's grammar. The separate feminine plural forms of the main verb such as *rahatī* vs. *rahatiā* indicate the influence of Dakkinī or Punjabi.[67] In the non-Dakkinī varieties of Hindi, the distinction between feminine singular and feminine plural forms is neutralized in the main verb.

Under the title "Indeclinables" Schultz introduces several markers which, according to him, introduce "indefiniteness" into tenses. One such indefinite marker is "kako." All the sentences cited to exemplify the use of this marker indicate it is actually a quotative marker, *kahke* (having said).[68] An example of the use of "kako" given by Schultz is in order: *un āye kako hamẽ samajhe* (we thought that they came). The use of "kako" (i.e., the actual form *kahke*) as a quotative marker (*that*) presents yet another example of Dakkinī. The other varieties of Hindi and the Punjabi language do not employ any quotative markers.

Two other important features of Schultz's discussion of verbs are conjunct verbs[69] and colloquial forms of verbs. The grammar clearly points out that verbs are formed by means of two processes: (1) (pure) verbs and (2) verbs derived by adding auxiliary verbs, such as *rahnā* (to live), *honā* (to be), *karnā* (to do), *denā* (to give), to nouns. Although Schultz does not spell out that the class of conjunct verbs can also be derived from adjectives and adverbs, his examples and description leave no doubt that he understood the concept of conjunct verbs. Some examples of conjunct verbs given by Schultz are: *tālīm*

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[67] See Ruth L. Schmidt, *Dakkini Urdu: History and Structure*, New Delhi: Bahri Publication, 1981, p. 32; especially Chapter 3 on morphology.

[68] Yamunā Kāchru, "The quotative in South Asian Languages," *South Asian Language Analysis*, N°. 1, 1979, pp. 63-77.

[69] Schultz does not give any label for this class of verbs. Ketelaar gives some examples of this type of verb in his dictionary section; however, he makes no attempt to classify Hindi verbs on the basis of their formations.

*denā* (to give education), *tārīf karnā* (to praise), *mazbūt honā* (to be strong), *ūpar honā* (to be above). Not all the examples given, however, qualify for the class of conjunct verbs. For example, *ārāmsu rahnā* (to live with comfort) cannot be treated as a conjunct verb.

Some verbs such as *karnā* (to do) and *denā* (to give) which function as irregular verbs in the past tense in the standard variety of Hindi are regularized in the colloquial variety. It is a common practice to this day among Hindi grammarians to exclude the regularized colloquial forms from their grammars. Schultz, however, attempts to make room for both systematically in his work, as his inclusion of two separate paradigms of the verb *karnā* (to do) in the past tense shows, i.e., *karā* and *kiyā* paradigms.

Two new topics—postpositions and adverbs—are also discussed in this chapter. Since the concept of postpositions was totally new for European learners of Hindi, a detailed description of the term and contrastive statements about Indian languages and Latin are given. The author observes that Latin prepositions function as postpositions in Indian languages such as Tamil, Telugu and Hindi. The term "postposition" is coined by Schultz because these items never precede but invariably follow a noun, pronoun, or verb. The treatment of postpositions and adverbs is, in general, satisfactory but not totally correct. Phrases such as *hath mẽ* (in hand) are identified as compound postpositions whereas the possessive pronoun *hamārā* (our) is listed as a degree adverb. It is interesting that the negation-incorporated adverbs such as *kahī̃ nahī̃* (nowhere) are also included in the discussion of locative adverbs.

A fascinating aspect of the grammar is that the topic of syntax, from which even modern grammars shy away, receives considerable importance. Chapter six is devoted to this topic. Schultz cautions in the opening lines that Hindi syntax is rather complex. He considers gender one of the underlying reasons for the complexity of Hindi syntax. According to him, the proper understanding of gender makes the grasp of Hindi syntax very easy. This is an insightful observation, since Hindi gender poses special problems even for modern Indian learners let alone for European learners of Hindi as a second language. In all, thirteen rules are presented to account for Hindi syntax. A majority of these rules deal with word order and agreement, within either a phrase or a sentence. Schultz's rule formulation is in general satisfactory, and the rules are valuable from contrastive linguistic and pedagogical points of view. For example, his rule 5 not only captures the tendency of reverse word order of Hindi possessive phrases in comparison to European languages such as Latin or English, but also points out that the possessive marker agrees with the following noun, giving the example *xāvind kī mā̃* (the mother of husband). Schultz remarks that the nouns in this phrase, *xāvind* (husband) and *mā̃* (mother), are masculine and feminine, respectively. In this phrase, the possessive marker takes a feminine ending because it agrees with the following noun, *mother*. Schultz formulates his rules with Western learners in mind. For example, rule 12 reads: "When several verbs are used in a sentence, they take the form of participles." This rule makes sense only if one takes into account the target language, such as English, which has a tendency to retain verbs in expressions such as "he came and spoke." However in languages such as Hindi the first verbal form is reduced to an absolutive participial form such as *ā kar* (having come). The aim of this rule is to familiarize its learners with the preferred use of participles in Hindi. But some rules given in this chapter are clearly ill formed. A case in point is rule 9, which explains that *tab* (then) expresses contingent imperfect.

Schultz gives translations of the Lord's Prayer in the appendix. What is of importance is that the translation is followed by an analysis of a prayer entitled "Oh Father." The analysis is patterned after those offered in traditional grammars before the emergence of structural linguistics. The grammatical function and meaning of each syntactic unit are explained, as exemplified by his analysis of the following expression: *āsmān po rahtā so*. According to Schultz, in the phrase *āsmān po* (in the heaven) [lit. "on the sky"], the noun is in the locative case. The postposition *po* is used after the noun since all postpositions follow nouns in Hindi. The Hindi *po* behaves like Danish *pa*. To justify further the use of the postposition *po* in his translation, he gives the example "King sits on the throne and not in the throne," thus explaining why such an expression selects "on" instead of "in." The analysis of the rest of the expression is as follows: *rahtā so* (who is), *rahtā* is a third person present indefinite form. The infinitive verb form is *rahnā* (to live), and *so* is used in the sense of "someone" here.

Schultz's sentence parsing reveals that he had developed a sound knowledge of the basic grammatical system of Hindi. The surface regularities captured are often precise and presuppose the knowledge of Western languages. The parsing of one poem and the chapter on syntax indicate that the syntax of Hindi and its structural dissimilarity with Western languages had begun to attract the attention of grammarians of Hindi.

The influence of Ketelaar's grammar on Schultz is negligible. It seems that Schultz's grammar was written independently of his predecessor's. Ketelaar's grammatical sketch of the language did not influence Schultz's analysis in any serious sense perhaps because of the difference in the variety of language employed by Schultz in his work. The most notable exception is the translation section. Schultz examines Ketelaar's translations of the Lord's Prayer, evaluates them, and raises doubts about their adequacy:

In short, in comparison to the first grammar, Schultz's grammar registered some important gains. Although it is not free from errors, the number of errors has been reduced. Although this grammar is also primarily data oriented, it exhibits a slightly larger inclination in favor of the analysis of the language instead of merely presenting data. The improvement in the analysis of the language led to the more refined translations. The work broadens the base of Hindi grammar in terms of the range of topics covered, the grammatical acceptability of the data presented, attempts at capturing regularities, syntactic analysis of the language, and statements contrasting Hindi with other European languages.

### 2.4.1 Later Manuscript Versions of Benjamin Schultz's *Grammatica Hindostanica* (1744)

In comparison to the oldest grammar, the second oldest grammar has been considered of relatively little interest, for it is viewed as free from any serious controversy involving its date, authenticity and variations. Although it is correct that its date and authenticity are subject to little dispute in view of its quick publication soon after its inception in 1741, contrary to the current widespread view, more than one version of the grammar are in existence.

It appears that Schultz's Latin grammar was translated into English versions after 1761. Two such manuscripts of the grammar are preserved in the India Office Library, London.

The first manuscript is entitled *A Grammar of the Hindostan Language.*[70] The translator's name is not given, although in the "note" there are three references to *Gent. Mag.*, vol. 15, June 1745, viz. p. 306, pp. 307 and 308, and pp. 361 and 362. The manuscript begins with the author's preface, in a faithful English paraphrase, dealing with the origin of the Hindi language and explaining the division of the grammar. The manuscript is divided into six "sections," devoted to the following topics: (1) letters, (2) nouns and adjectives, (3) pronouns, (4) auxiliaries, i.e., simple and compound verbs, (5) particles, postpositions, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections, and (6) syntax. An appendix contains the following: (a) the Apostle's Creed, in Hindi and English; (b) the Lord's Prayer, in Hindi and English; (c) syntactic analysis of the Hindi Lord's Prayer; (d) a dialogue, in Hindi and English; and (e) the Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in Hindi only. The original grammar concludes on page 152. The remainder of the manuscript contains, in another, very bold and clear handwriting, a duplicate of the last three sections of the grammar beginning with the auxiliary verbs and ending with the Lord's Prayer.

The second manuscript forms part of a larger manuscript entitled *Persian, Hindustani, Arabic, and Sanskrit miscellanies.* In comparison to Schultz's Latin manuscript, the title of this version is much larger.[71] A large fragment of the former English manuscript is contained in this manuscript, the only difference being that only three of the six sections of the work—the letters, the nouns and adjectives, and pronouns—are included here. New details not found in the preceding copy are also presented. Essentially, then, this work can be viewed as a modified subset of the previous manuscript.

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[70] The complete title of the manuscript is as follows: "A Grammar of the Hindostan Language, by Benjamin Schulzius or Schultz, written at Madras the 30th of June, 1741, printed at Hall (Halle) in Saxony, 1745, with which are blended some further observations on the language, collected in Bengal in 1761." Ms. N°. 2531, London, Library of the India Office.

The main reason that the two translations of Schultz's Latin grammar have gone unobserved so far is that information about them is contained in the catalogue of Persian manuscripts.[72] With the exception of Dr. Abulais Siddiqui (1977), no other scholar has reported the existence of the manuscripts. Although Siddiqui was a pioneer in preparing the "edited" and Urdu translation of the first manuscript, he made no attempt to compare the two manuscripts (or at least the first manuscript) with the original Latin version.[73] Thus, the question of later insertions has not been addressed as yet. From the titles of the manuscripts, it is clear that they were completed after 1761 and that the second manuscript is the earlier one in origin. Both manuscripts represent a revised and enlarged version of the original. From the prefatory remarks of the anonymous English translator of the second manuscript, it is clear that all sorts of material was inserted in the translations; however, what remains uncertain is how much credit goes to the grammarian himself for carrying out modifications and revisions. From the notes given in the second manuscript it is clear that Schultz lived for at least a decade after the publication of the Latin work.

My comparison of the former manuscript with the original Latin version reveals the following significant differences between the two: (1) Scripts: the manuscript devotes considerable attention to the native writing system. Several new scripts, "Shunscreet or Dewnagur," "the Shunscreet characters as taught in schools at Delhi, Patna, and Benares," Hindi or Nagari, "Bungaleh characters" and "Goormoky" and merchant's Nagari are added to the original. (2) Sequencing: the sequence of topics discussed in the original grammar has been changed in the manuscript. Some of these changes aim at providing a more logical sequence to the material presented in the original while other changes are totally arbitrary. (3) Description of the parts of speech: descriptive notes have been added and updated in the manuscript. As a result of this change the grammar strikes a good balance between data presentation and descriptive notes. (4) Analysis: the analysis of the language presented in the manuscript has advanced qualitatively as well as quantitatively over the analysis presented in the original grammar. For example, in the original grammar nine suffixes or morphemes were enumerated which participate in the process of nominalization in Hindi. However, their number has jumped to twenty-one in this manuscript. The topics of passives, irregular verbs, causative and compound verbs have been substantially modified. (5) Modification of the data: new data have been added and old data have been edited by either rejecting some old data or improving on the acceptability of the questionable data. From the above discussion, it is clear that Schultz's Latin grammar had more significant impact on the tradition than has been noted thus far in the literature. Also, the later manuscripts clearly exhibit their preference for Khaṛī bolī over Dakkinī Hindi.

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[71] The complete title is as follows: "A Grammar of the Hindostan from the materials of the Very Reverend Benjamin Schultz, missionary for the propagation of the Gospel, reduced into order during his long residence in Hindostan, consisting of rules illustrated by numerous examples, intended for the use of the missionaries of India; published with a preface for promoting the study of the Oriental Languages, by D. Jo. Henry Callenberg, Public Professor Inordinary of Divinity and Philosophy; printed at Halle in Saxony, in the Hebrew Printing House, 1745." Ms. N°. 2537, London, Library of the India Office.

[72] Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Oxford, for the The India Office Library by Horace, Hart, Printer to the University, 1903. See columns 1362 and 1363 for the description of the manuscripts.

[73] Abulais Siddiqui, *A Grammar of Hindoostani Language by Benjamin Schulzino (1741 A.D.)*, Lahore, Board for Advancement of Literature, 1977. Notice the slight change in the title of this work; see the title of the original manuscript in fn. 70.

## 2.5 Cassiano Beligatti, *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* (Brammhan Alphabet) (1761)

*Alphabetum Brammhanicum*, written by a Capuchin missionary named Cassiano Beligatti, is viewed as a very significant work among the earlier works in Hindi grammar.[74] It is composed of eleven chapters and is written in Latin. Included in the book is a long preface by John Christopher Amaduzzi Amadutius. The preface is quite revealing and presents "a complete account of the then existing knowledge regarding Indian languages."[75] In addition, it contains useful sociolinguistic, applied linguistic, and extralinguistic information.

One of the reasons that it is viewed as a work of great importance is nonlinguistic in nature. It is the first work in which vernacular words are printed in their own characters in movable type. Not only are the Devanāgarī letters represented in type, but even the Kaithī letters receive the same honor.[76] What is of even more value is that this work restricts itself to the most neglected and urgent topic of its time. For the first time the Devanāgarī script and Hindi phonetics (indirectly, though, via script) receive an exhaustive treatment.

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[74] According to Grierson, among the earlier works, "of much more importance is the Alphabetum Brammhanicum sev Industanum Universitatis, Kasi, Romae, 1761. Typis sac. Congregationis de propag. Fide." (Grierson, *LSI*, p. 9). Vechoor translated the entire work into Hindi. See Vechoor, op. cit., pp. 121-160.

[75] Grierson, *LSI*, p. 9.

[76] Ibid.

Beligatti calls the Devanāgarī characters "the Alphabetum Brammhanicum" and considers it the key to Indian knowledge because religious as well as secular texts are written in this script. The first seven chapters deal with the Devanāgarī script, explaining the phonetic and graphemic properties of the main vowels, mātrā vowels, consonants, and conjunct letters.

The pedagogical strategy which went into teaching pronunciation of letters is strikingly similar to that of the modern Hindi pedagogical text. Pronunciation cues are drawn from Western as well as non-Western languages such as Italian, French, English, Hebrew, and Arabic.

To explain the production of sounds which are not found in Western languages, Beligatti relies on either purely phonetic descriptions or quasi-phonetic and sometimes impressionistic explanations. For example, in his explanation of retroflex (cerebral) sounds in Hindi he points out that although these sounds do not exist in Latin and although they may be difficult to learn, it is nonetheless crucial to learn them for they are an integral part of the language. Then he explains that in the production of retroflex sounds the twisted tongue slowly touches the palate. Such a description is a close approximation of the description of retroflexion given in modern phonetic texts.[77] Similarly, according to Beligatti, aspirates are articulated with "some force." In a sense, this definition is quite close to the "puff of air" description of aspiration in ancient Indian as well as modern phonetics.[78] On several occasions, when he fails to present any suitable explanation of a sound, Beligatti gives in and recommends the aid of an instructor. A case in point is his explanation of velar nasal. The eighth chapter shows how the Devanāgarī script copes with the sounds/letters *f*, *q*, *x*, *y*, and *z*.

Mills's classification of the Hindi writing system as secret versus open code can be further supported by Beligatti's distinction between "the secret of Brammha" and "the script of the masses." Beligatti devotes four chapters to the latter. An examination of the two scripts reveals that there is no significant difference between them. The major difference lies in the arrangement of the letters. Phonetic criteria went into the arrangement of the so-called secret script of the Brahmans, termed "Sanskrit Script" by Beligatti. The letters are arranged according to the following order: short vowels, long vowels, diphthongs, semivowels, lateral consonants, nasal consonants, voiced aspirates, voiced unaspirates, unvoiced aspirates, unvoiced unaspirates, and sibilants.

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[77] See Peter Ladefoged, *A Course in Phonetics*, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1975, p. 7.

[78] See Tej K. Bhatia, "On the predictive role of recent theories of aspiration," *Phonetica*, 1976, 33, p. 62-73. It appears that Beligatti's treatment of Hindi phonetics is independent of the findings of Indian (ancient) phoneticians.

The script of the masses is called "the Nagari." The arrangement of the letters is conventional. Some Sanskrit vowel letters (main and mātrā forms) such as *ri*, *lri*, etc., are not included in the Nagari.[79] Beligatti recognizes that the difference between the two scripts is insignificant. To support his point he numbers each letter of the two scripts in such a way that the matching letters of the scripts receive identical numbers.

Finally, a translation of the Lord's Prayer is presented. His translation differs from his predecessors' translations, namely by Ketelaar and Schultz, in the sense that he favors the Sanskritized style over the Persianized style employed in the preceeding grammars.

Beligatti's treatment of his topic is quite detailed. The two earlier works (Mills 1743 and Schultz 1744) aimed at the approximation of letters and pronunciation whereas Beligatti incorporated more precision and details in his treatment. Although he was not a skilled phonetician in a strict sense, his work shows considerable depth even from a modern standpoint. Not only did he present an insightful description of the production and the phonetic value of the Devanāgarī letters, but he also questioned the adequacy of the treatment of some letters in the Devanāgarī script. A case in point is the grouping of the two vowel graphemes ऐ (ai) and औ (au). Beligatti observed that the two letters are pronounced as diphthongs and questioned the wisdom of arranging them with other main vowels. Finally, it should be added that Beligatti was not aware of the existence of the work of Ketelaar, Mills, and Schultz.[80]

## 2.6 *Conclusion*

### 2.6.1 *General Properties*

With these works the foundation of Hindi grammar was laid and the first stage completed. The grammars use the term "Hindustani" to label the language under investigation. In general, they cover writing systems, dictionary, grammatical synopsis (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs), and the translation of Bible passages. Although the first two aspects of the language are not covered by all the grammars, one gets the impression they were on the verge of becoming an integral part of Hindi grammar. The latter two aspects represent the most favored areas of the grammars of this period. The works exhibit notable deficiencies in the areas of phonetics, phonology (except Beligatti's), and syntax (except Schultz's). Morphology receives only a minimal amount of attention and that, too, only indirectly, during the discussion of derived nouns and adjectives.

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[79] In Nagari, the two consonant letters *tra*, *gya* are excluded. The consonant letter *d* is repeated twice, for no distinction is made between the letters *d* and *h*.

[80] He acknowledges the existence of only one earlier work, entitled "Lexicon Linguae Indostanica" composed by a Capuchin missionary named Francicus M. Turonesis, in the year 1704. The search for this work continues, but the general consensus is that it is lost.

Although these grammars are quite divergent in terms of format, scope, and data, they share several properties. These properties do not stem from their shared convictions about the theory of language or grammar per se, but are arrived at indirectly, and to a large extent unwittingly because of their common problems, linguistic orientation and attitudes, and sociocultural background.

The grammars have several striking features. First, they are primarily data oriented in nature. A heavy emphasis is placed on the presentation of data alone, and, in comparison, the processes of data analysis, classification and interpretation receive very little attention. One gets the impression that the presentation of data was seen by the grammarians as the most fundamental as well as the most valuable function of a grammar. Perhaps nowhere in the history of Hindi grammar has the process of data presentation gained such an overwhelming importance over the other processes as it did during this period.

A preference for large data bases was also a direct consequence of the general language-learning environment at the time and the urgent need for pedagogical materials. The early grammarians had the choice of either suspending grammar writing entirely until the stage of data collection and analysis was completed satisfactorily or presenting as much data as possible to their readers and leaving the question of serious analysis for later. Weighing their options, they arrived at the conclusion that their own interests as well as the interests of their readers would be better served by the latter approach. This approach was a stategic choice rather than an ideal one on their part, but it was the best available at the time.

Second, the general makeup of the grammars is based on a distinctive model of language which can be termed religious-colonial. This model played an important role in governing the nature of their contents (selection, gradation, and sequencing) and grammatical explanations.

Third, the primary goal was pedagogical and the grammars were written to satisfy the needs of a narrowly defined audience, mainly missionaries and colonial representatives. Therefore, rather than adopting a wholistic approach, the grammarians opted for a selective approach to Hindi language pedagogy. They set out to teach primarily those linguistic items and patterns which were immediately useful to their audience. This tendency together with their model of language explains the unique makeup and scope of their works.

Fourth, the grammar component of the work is modeled primarily after the European classical grammar tradition, namely the Latin tradition. In addition to borrowing grammatical categories from Latin, Latin was selected as the preferred language of the grammars. This choice was hardly surprising since

Latin was the language used for early grammars of the modern European vernaculars.

Fifth, the grammars are open to a wide range of the varieties of Hindi. Their authors received input indiscriminately from the various regional dialects, such as Eastern, Western, and Dakkinī varieties.

Sixth, the grammars focus on the spoken style of the language and, for that reason, exhibit preference for the Perso-Arabic style of Hindi.

Seventh, they share the properties of the vernacular grammatical tradition. On many occasions they tend to be nonprescriptive and even impressionistic or casual in the analysis of language and judgments about it.

### 2.6.2 *Problems and Shortcomings*

In sharp contrast with their successors, the earliest grammarians chose to shy away from spelling out the problems they had to confront while carrying out their work. But it cannot be concluded from this that they lacked problems or failed to recognize them. Although by and large they chose not to devote their energies to this topic, their works implicitly voice their problems much louder than the grammarians themselves would probably have desired.

The grammarians of this era had to confront three types of fundamental problems—theoretical, methodological, and analytical. They lacked an adequate theory of language and the scientific techniques of linguistic analysis. Their religious-colonial model was often supplemented by a folk perception of language. They had several significant misconceptions about the behavior of natural languages: that Latin or Hebrew holds the key to the explanation of all languages, that languages invariably subscribe to the notion of absolute translational equivalence, and that formal distinctions in linguistic forms are caused by grammatical distinctions alone.

Among their methodological problems, the most severe was the problem of data collection. The grammarians had to operate under totally unfavorable conditions. The writings of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British grammarians reveal that they were left with two choices, either to record data in whatever form obtainable under uncontrolled group settings or to satisfy themselves with a very restricted choice of informants—generally a lower class, uneducated group.[81] Since neither choice gave them the opportunity to check and recheck their data and interact with ideal informants, their process of data abstraction fell far short of the ideal. Also, colonial and religious attitudes left some serious gaps in their selection of data.[82]

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[81] In the social setting of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century India, anyone who crossed the boundaries of the Indian Ocean was considered an "untouchable." By this definition, Europeans were considered inherently untouchable. That is why the Brahmans, who held the highest rank in the elaborately structured Indian society and who were responsible for teaching language, did not participate in the linguistic endeavors of the Europeans. Before the establishment of the Fort William College, Europeans had to learn Hindi from either their servants or a munshi, a native informant/language teacher. For further details see the next chapter; also, Rām Chandra Shukla,

Another important methodological problem was the lack of an adequate transcription system. In the absence of a systematic and scientific system of transcribing natural languages, the grammarians had to rely on the writing conventions of European languages. Although they realized the inadequacy of their system for capturing the pronunciation of Hindi data, no serious attempt was made to modify or change it. This problem, together with the lack of modern recording equipment such as tape recorders, placed serious limitations on their ability to record data accurately.

The theoretical and methodological problems of the grammarians strongly influenced their analytical techniques. It is clear from their analysis of the data that segmentation was one of their major problems. Consequently, they had considerable difficulty in arriving at the correct word, morpheme, and syllable boundaries.[83] This, in turn, often prevented them from capturing phonological and syntactic regularities in the language on one hand and introduced errors in their classification of the data into suitable Hindi parts of speech on the other hand.

Their analytical framework was narrow in nature and often overlooked or even avoided the distinctive language-specific properties of Hindi. Even if they attempted to make room for such properties in their framework, they often ran short of linguistic tools or devices to capture them adequately. Therefore, distinctive syntactic (such as conjunct verbs) and phonological (aspiration, retroflexion, vowel length) features were either largely overlooked or received inadequate treatment. Their lack of linguistic tools often made even the talented grammarians such as Beligatti feel helpless.

The practice of identifying or equating sociolinguistic variations with grammatical distinctions is quite widespread and is responsible for the phenomenon of overspecification in the works of the early grammarians. Consider, for example, the treatment of the dative and accusative case by Ketelaar.[84]

The errors which have disillusioned modern Indian grammarians about these grammars are errors in the recording and analysis of data, especially the wrong

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*Hindi Sāhitya kā itihās* (The History of Hindi Literature), Kāshī, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, 1929, pp. 392-393.

[82] For example, during his discussion of pronouns and verbs Ketelaar fails to provide any data on honorific pronouns and the polite imperative forms. He must have heard polite forms when he was addressed by native speakers, but he apparently did not feel the need to learn or use such forms in return.

[83] This problem was especially acute in the analysis of compound postpositions and adverbs.

[84] For details, see fn. 36.

analysis stemming from the wrong segmentation of a linguistic unit. Their disillusion often resulted in such stereotypical or chauvinistic statements as "It is a shame to call them grammars and an insult to call their creators grammarians."[85]

### 2.6.3 *Accomplishments and Significance*

It is not difficult to detect gaps, omissions, and misrepresentations in the works under discussion. While the criticism and reaction presented above may seem justified at first sight, a more appropriate reaction would recognize the very great achievement of initiating the grammatical tradition of Hindi. In spite of some shortcomings and inadequacies, their successes are manifold. The wealth of information stored in the grammars is strong enough to inspire our gratitude and admiration.

Existing misconceptions about the external and the internal nature of the grammars have seriously undermined their worth and potential. In view of current developments in Hindi grammar, the grammars can be viewed as documents of more than mere historical importance. They have a unique place in the grammatical tradition of Hindi for they provide major information for research—historical, socio- and psycholinguistic. For historical linguists, they provide access to rare samples of spoken Hindi for the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They provide valuable sociolinguistic data for the study of such topics as the nature of linguistic variation in Hindi and language attitudes of the grammarians about three centuries ago. They also give a rare glimpse into the foreign language teaching methodology of the era. Furthermore, they are immensely important for the study of the acquisition of Hindi as a second language at a diachronic level. And they are rare documents for studying sociolinguistic aspects of learning and the use of Hindi as a nonnative language.[86]

The grammars exhibit a remarkable ability to raise some important questions about the language, such as the problem of history and identification. These questions were especially crucial because the foundation of comparative and historical linguistics had not yet been laid. Naturally, the grammarians were curious about the history and the identity of the language and its relationship with Persian and Arabic. With some intelligent guesswork the grammarians established the independent identity of the Hindi language in spite of its tendency to borrow its writing system and vocabulary from Persian and Arabic sources. They noted, although they did not elaborate, that Hindi was not a variety of old or new Persian or of Arabic. The attempts to raise such questions and to offer solutions and classifications in their own way is another significant aspect of the grammars.[87]

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[85] Chaudhari, *HVI*, p. 160.

[86] For the recently emerging interest in the social dimensions of learning/using a nonnative language, see Leo Loveday, *The Sociolinguistics of Learning and Using a Non-native Language*, New York, Pergamon Press, 1982, especially Chapters 2-5.

Regarding the pedagogical importance of these works it should be pointed out that the errors of these grammars have been overemphasized. Modern scholars have placed unnecessary importance on their errors and have often criticized them unjustly without attempting to evaluate the severity of their mistakes. A close investigation reveals that most errors were on the surface level and were largely phonetic in nature. Critics of these grammars must distinguish errors of low significance, such as spelling and transliterational errors, from those of a serious nature, such as Schultz's treatment of the dative construction as a passive construction. By overlooking this point and assigning an equal weight to all errors, modern scholars are able to show a high occurrence of errors in the texts. Furthermore, they also overlook that succeeding scholars and editors added their own errors to the original grammars, as we saw in the discussion of Ketelaar's grammar.

Also, in the evaluation of these grammars, it is often missed that the earliest grammarians were not attempting to present a description of Modern Standard Hindi. For example, Ketelaar indicates that the nominal form *beṭā* (son) does not undergo any change when it is followed by a dative marker. (See Figure 4.) Commenting on this, Vechoor notes that the correct form of the noun is *beṭe* (son), which occurs only in Standard Hindi. In spite of the general agreement among scholars that Ketelaar was not attempting to describe Standard Hindi but Bazar Hindi, Vechoor goes on and unjustifiably remarks that Ketelaar was not familiar with the standard form of the noun.[88] In spite of the fact that scholars acknowledge that the concept of Modern Standard Hindi was then nonexistent because the language was in a fluid state, in actual practice, when evaluating these texts such linguistic facts are overlooked. Third, modern scholars often fail to take into account the state of grammatical scholarship during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Consequently, the grammars are deprived of their actual pedagogical importance and are too readily dismissed as "bad grammars."

Although one must regret the errors and shortcomings of the earliest grammarians, their contributions cannot be overlooked. It is not a question, primarily, of the merits of their work, which have been gravely neglected, or of their deficiencies, which present-day scholars or prescriptive grammarians, looking back from a priviledged standpoint at the end of three centuries of tradition, have overemphasized. Their greatest achievement lies in the fact that they initiated a tradition which endures today in the form of an unbroken succession of grammatical scholarship on Hindi.

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[87] A case in point is their tendency to classify the Hindi writing system into Brahman Nāgarī vs. the Nāgarī of the masses (or secret vs. open written code). For details, see the discussion of Beligatti's grammar above.

[88] Similarly, the criticism of Schultz's grammar overlooks the fact that he was attempting to account for Dakkinī Hindi and not Khaṛī bolī Hindi.

## CHAPTER THREE

# A NEW FOUNDATION FOR HINDI GRAMMAR:

## The Gilchrist Era (1771-1820)

In passing from the earliest grammars to grammars written by the British, we enter an era which can be said to have laid a truly new foundation for Hindi grammar. Contrary to popular misconception, the British cannot be considered the founders of Hindi grammar scholarship,[1] but they can claim to have broken new ground by turning the course of historical events in favor of Hindi. They stepped onto the scene at a crucial moment, saving the grammatical tradition from a premature death and laying a foundation that almost guaranteed the uninterrupted progression of Hindi grammar. In order to understand how and why such a rescue was carried out, it is crucial to understand the controversies and external factors responsible for shaping this period, which can best be characterized as the "Gilchrist era of Hindi grammar."

### 3.1 *Background*

### *3.1.1 Hindi Pedagogy: New Contexts and Controversies*

The general context in which Hindi grammar grew can best be characterized as a worldwide rise of vernaculars. In Europe, vernaculars began to assert themselves toward the end of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gained substantial ground in their struggle against classical languages. When the British grammarians, encouraged by these gains, observed striking parallels between the linguistic situation in Britian (or Europe) and India with respect to the neglected status of vernaculars, they took keen interest not only in the pedagogy of Indian vernaculars, especially Hindi, but also in their promotion.[2] In addition, some simmering controversies—

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[1] According to the renowned Hindi grammarian Guru, the pioneers of Hindi grammar were the British, who felt the need to learn the language (Hindi) in the beginning of the nineteenth century. See Guru, *HV*, p. 4. Also, Shrīvāstava claims no reference to any article or book on Hindi grammar is found prior to Hadley's grammar (i.e., 1772). Shrīvāstava, *HKYV*, p. 41.

[2] On the overemphasis of classical languages and the neglect of vernaculars in Europe as well as in India, Gilchrist observed, "The same prejudices which have hitherto retarded due to cultivation of our mother tongue, operated long, and do so now against the acquisition of Hindustanee on grammatical principles not only among the bigoted natives of India, but among our more

linguistic, sociolinguistic, and applied linguistic—played an important role in determining the growth and nature of Hindi grammatical scholarship during this era and the succeeding periods.

### 3.1.1.1 *Sociolinguistic Controversies*

Among the sociolinguistic controversies of this period the main controversy was language choice. The grammars themselves are a written testimony to the fact that the grammarians of this era, especially in the first half, had to perform a dual role. Besides writing grammars, they had to act as advocates of Hindi over Persian. It was because of their efforts that Hindi succeeded in becoming the lingua franca. The urgency and importance they placed on this task are evident from lengthy prefatory remarks to their grammars, independent articles, and correspondence with government policymakers. By this time the British rulers recognized the importance of the languages used by the natives of India;[3] the question which remained unanswered was which language to choose. In order to arrive at the most effective and efficient solution, they narrowed their choices down to two, Persian and Hindi.

The Persian language, although it was originally a foreign language for Indians, had by then become the language of Indian elites and intellectuals. In addition, Indian rulers had adopted it as the language for official activities. Therefore, because of its prestige and official importance in the Indian speech community, Persian had secured a very high rank, similar to that of Sanskrit before the arrival of the Moguls. For this reason, strong support prevailed among British rulers and administrators in favor of adopting Persian as the link language with India. But support for Persian was not unanimous among the British. Another group, composed largely of scholars and administrators,

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enlightened countrymen." John B. Gilchrist (ed.), *General East India Guide and Ved Mecum by late Captain Williamson*, London, Kingsbury, Parburg & Allen, 1825, p. 598. For his objective views on the importance of classical languages and Hindi, observe his following statement: "As several modern and ancient tongues may be deemed both useful and ornamental to students of liberal education in Europe, the Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, etc., will prove equally so in India; but it should always be recollected that to every person there, the Hindoostanee is no less indispensable, than a knowledge of English evidently is to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom." John B. Gilchrist, *The Strangers' East Indian Guide to the Hindoostanee; or Grand Popular Language of India, (improperly called Moors)* [henceforth, *Guide*], London, Black Pary and Kingsbury, 1803 [Second Edition, 1808], p. xxx.

[3] According to W.B. Bayley, "When the conquerors and rulers of a country are unacquainted with the current speech of their subjects, the natural consequences must evidently be injustice on the one part and disaffection on the other. . . . An accurate knowledge of the customs and manners of a nation, depends principally on an acquaintance with its colloquial languages; and in no country, perhaps, is this knowledge more essential or a more desirable object of attainment, than in Hindoostan, the inhabitants of which differ so widely in religion, laws, customs and prejudices." Quoted in Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. xxii.

argued that "Hindustani" was the most desirable language to serve as the link language because it was widely used and understood by the masses.[4] Arguing convincingly and drawing an analogy with the struggle of English against Latin or French, they dismissed the argument often extended against Hindi that it was not appropriate for carrying out intellectual or governmental activity.[5]

### 3.1.1.2 *Linguistic Controversies*

The linguistic controversies which occupied the attention of Hindi grammars of the Gilchrist era dealt with the question of whether or not Persian was more "regular" and "basic" than Hindi. According to the proponents of Persian, "Moors" (the popular term for Hindi among Westerners at this time) was too irregular to admit a grammar and Persian was so "connected" with Moors that Moors was derived from it. The question about the derivational nature of

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[4] Gilchrist states, "Nearly from Cape Comorin to Kabool, a country about 2000 miles in length and 1400 in breath within the Ganges, few persons will be found in any large villages or towns, which have ever been conquered or much frequented by Moosulmans, who are not sufficiently conversant in the Hindoostanee; and in many places beyond the Ganges, this language is current and familiar," Gilchrist, *Guide*, pp. xxi-xxii. On Hindi being the link language between Indians and foreigners settled in India, W.B. Bayley remarks, "It is moreover the general medium by which many persons of various foreign nations settled in Hindoostan, communicate their wants and ideas to each other. Of the truth of this, indeed, we ourselves are an evidence, as are the Portugueze, Dutch, French, Danes, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Persians, Moghuls, and Chinese." Quoted in Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. xxi. Other grammarians, such as Hadley, Ferguson, Shakespear, expressed similar opinions about Hindi in the prefaces to their works.

[5] Gilchrist and other grammarians of this era claimed in fact that it was impossible to conduct government operations effectively without the knowledge of Hindi. "Since we must admit, that however learned our British judges, civil and military officers, might otherwise be, they would all prove now-a-days wholly unfit for their respective offices in our country, without an adequate knowledge of their mother-tongue; and the Hindoostanee being exactly to India, what the English language is colloquially to United Kingdom," Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. xxxi. Serious attention was paid to the importance of Hindi in various professions in India. Hadley reported from his personal experience: "I soon became sensible that it would be impossible to discharge my duty in the manner I could wish, without a knowledge of the language spoken by those whom I was to command, and experience soon showed me that the corrupt dialect would be more immediately useful in a military capacity." George Hadley, *Grammatical Remarks on the Pratical and Vulgar Dialect of Indostan Language*, Menston, The Scolar Press, 1772 [1967 Edition], pp. vi-vii. Similar observations were made by W.B. Bayley: "The conclusion from the premises is this that to the merchant, the traveller, the civil and military officer, the philosopher and physician, in short, to everyone who carries on concerns of any movement in India, the Hindoostanee language is more generally necessary and advantageous than any other." Quoted in Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. xxiv. Gilchrist also claimed that "in the armies, maritime, and domestic affairs of India, no other language than the Hindoostanee is universally spoken and understood." Ibid., p. xxx. On its importance in commerce, Ferguson explained, "The advantages which the Great Britain derives from its commerce with Hindustan are great and important. Any attempt therefore to facilitate and promote their intercourse deserves a favorable reception from the public. To render the language of Hindustan familiar to the inhabitants of this country is the most natural and effectual means to obtain this end." John Ferguson, *A Dictionary of the Hindustan Language to which is prefixed a Grammar of Hindustan Language*, London, 1773, preface.

Hindi developed because of heavy linguistic borrowings from Persian in Indian languages in general and Hindi in particular. Although these arguments are not valid in the light of modern historical and comparative linguistic and sociolinguistic research on Hindi, nevertheless, the seriousness of these arguments then cannot be dismissed. The grammarians of this era felt it necessary to consider these arguments in a systematic, objective, and scientific fashion.

Grammarians such as Hadley, Ferguson, and Gilchrist came strikingly close to capturing the insights of modern linguistics when they stressed that even the most barbarous language can be reduced to a system and that "Moors" was no exception in this regard.[6] Using methods similar to comparative linguistics, Hadley convincingly dismissed the argument that Hindi was derived from Persian. According to him, "there are certainly several Persian words used in Moors (as it is called); but that does not argue that one should be derived from the other any more than the word Philanthropy proves the English to be derived from the Greeks. Even such Persian words as used in Moors are subjected to the declension of the latter. That it may be seen how entirely different the grammars of the two languages are, here follows a verb in each."[7] To support his claim, he presents the example in Table 1.[8]

*TABLE 1*[8]

| | Infinitive | 1. "Pret." | 2. "Pret." | Future |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persian | ruftim | ruft | rufttuft | kwad ruft |
| Moors | jao͜una | giah | giah hy | jao͜unga |
| English | I go | I went | I went | I will go |
| | **Pluperfect** | **Participle Present** | **Imperative** | |
| Persian | ruftbood | meerouudd | boro | |
| Moors | giah t,hau | jottah | jaou | |
| English | I had gone | going | go | |

### 3.1.1.3 *Applied Linguistic Controversies*

An important debate of an applied linguistic nature concerned the question of which language Europeans should learn first, Hindi or Persian. The argument extended by the supporters of Persian about the derivational nature of Hindi set the stage for a debate whether Persian should be the first object of investigation and teaching. Pushing for the status of Hindi as an independent language, the Gilchrist grammarians argued that just the reverse should be the case. Drawing an analogy with French as an imposed language in the West, they pointed out that, although Persian had gained prestige in India over the local languages, characters, and fashions, it was by no means the language of the masses. Hadley, for one, concluded that "this would of itself be sufficient to answer those who insist on it that Persian should be learnt first."[9] They also questioned the wisdom of teaching Persian in India for several other reasons: (1) Persian was not spoken by the masses in India, (2) the methodology of teaching it was inadequate, and (3) the language-learning environment was not ideal.[10] It was argued further that "indeed not one in fifty that attempts it ever succeeds so as to a degree of perfection," and one grammarian wondered if "Persian is ever attained at all."[11] Therefore, for linguistic, applied linguistic, and sociolinguistic reasons, the Gilchrist grammarians concluded that it was better to attain a knowledge of "Moors" first.[12]

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[6] Practically every grammarian of the era stressed that Hindi is not irregular and claimed to have discovered the system of the language. For details see Hadley, op. cit., pp. xi-xii; Ferguson, op. cit., Introduction.

[7] Hadley, op. cit., p. xii.

[8] Ibid.

### 3.1.2 *Government Language Policy: A Shift*

These debates together with the articulate and vigorous support of Hindi grammarians gained momentum in favor of Hindi, and British orientalists and government officials shared this view. Finally, there occurred a shift in the language policy of the British Empire.

On 21 December 1798, the Governor General notified all civil servants of the Bengal Presidency that, "From after the 1st of January 1801, no servant will be deemed eligible to any of the aforementioned offices until he shall have passed an examination (the nature of which will be hereafter determined) in the laws and regulations, and in the languages, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensable qualification. . . . The languages, a knowledge of which will be considered requisite in the several offices in the judicial, revenue, and commercial departments are—For the office of judge, or register, of any court of justice, in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, or Benares, the Hindoostanee and the Persian languages. ... For the office of collector of revenue, or of customs or commercial resident, or agent, for the provision of opium, in the provinces of Behar, or Benares, the Hindoostanee language."[13]

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[9] Ibid., p. xiii.

[10] According to Hadley, "It [Persian] is not spoken at all in common, the manner of teaching is very unmethodical, and bad as it is the matters must not be put out of their beaten track, few of them have any grammatical knowledge, and not one of them understands a word of English; but the scholar is obliged to rely on the wretched abilities of a servant who speaks English like a parrot, too ignorant to convey the true sense of a translation, too indolent to exert himself if he knows it, and too abject to correct a mistake in his master if capable of doing it." Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

[11] Ibid., p. xiv.

[12] Ibid., p. xv. Gilchrist also favored the teaching of Hindi. "A knowledge of Hindoostanee is not only essential for every stranger in British India, who must have a personal communication with the natives at large, but, moreover, paves the way for the speedy acquirement of the Persian and other oriental languages, in that country." Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. xxix.

Under this rule, Hindi gained an equal footing with Persian for high offices such as Judge or Registrar, and for other offices it superseded Persian. This language requirement made Hindi a candidate for serious study and demolished the argument that it was a vulgar language with no utility.

In order to implement the above language policy seriously, steps were taken to teach Hindi systematically as a second language. On 31 January 1799, an oriental seminary, referred to in official records as the "Gilchrist Seminary," was founded. This seminary was instituted as an experiment in the training of civil servants and was confined to the teaching of Hindi and Persian. The success of the experiment paved the way for the establishment of Fort William College, the brainchild of Lord Wellesley, the Governor General, and John J. Gilchrist, the most distinguished grammarian of this time. Fort William College was a unique institution devoted to the teaching and development of Hindi language and literature. Its sophisticated educational facilities earned it the name "The Cambridge of the East." The college earned Hindi its long-desired position in India and is especially credited with the development of Hindi prose and pedagogical material. The teaching of the Hindi language and other literary endeavors of the college contributed to serious, uninterrupted Hindi grammar scholarship. Had it not been for the systematic and extensive efforts of the grammarians of this period, Hindi grammar research and practice might have either died out or languished.

## 3.2 *Grammars and Grammarians*

### 3.2.1 *The British Grammarians*

#### 3.2.1.1 George Hadley, *Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar Dialect of the Indostan Language* (1772)

The publication of Schultz's grammar was marked by a long pause of about three decades. Finally, after Hadley's grammar appeared in English in 1772, it was quickly followed by other and better ones. The success of and the need for Hadley's work are clear from the fact that the first edition was followed by seven others.[14] The general makeup of the work is similar to that of Ketelaar's in the sense that it has primarily two main components: a grammar and a dictionary. The grammar component is thirty pages long and is preceded by a long preface (more than half the size of the grammar component). The dictionary component follows and is about three times the size of the grammar.

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[13] Ibid., pp. xxviii-xxix.

[14] On the misconception that Hadley was the first Hindi grammarian, see fn. 1 of this chapter. The complete reference to Hadley's grammar is given in fn. 5 in this chapter.

The main theme of the preface is to bring out the importance of Hindi as the lingua franca of India. Its central importance for military personnel in India is especially highlighted. The preface also addresses itself to the three areas of controversy outlined above, and it reflects the changing linguistic attitudes of European grammarians toward Indian vernaculars, especially Hindi. Hadley also pays considerable attention in the preface to the theoretical framework he has adopted.

Like Ketelaar, Hadley attaches no importance to the writing system, phonetics, and morphology of the language. As a matter of fact, he goes one step further and makes no mention of them. The only exception in this regard are his ad hoc remarks on pronunciation cues of some vowels (see Table 2) and the diacritics employed in his transcription. (These remarks are not given in the main body of the grammar but constitute the preface of the vocabulary component.)

*TABLE 2*

| Symbol | Phonetic Cues | Prohibitive Cues |
|---|---|---|
| A | *c*a*se*, au | Not like French or German |
| E | b*e* | Not French |
| I | f*i*re, w*i*n | Not pronounced as *e* in Italian |

Five notational symbols—[‿], [,], [¯], [˘], and [ˆ]—are employed in an attempt to represent the pronunciation of Hindi words correctly. The symbols mark syllable boundaries or junctions, vowel length, and accent in a word. The first two symbols are placed underneath the letters. The former denotes the unitary value of two or more vowel symbols in a syllable, whereas the latter marks the syllable boundary.[15] The last three symbols, [¯], [˘] and [ˆ], are placed above the letters and represent long, short, and "accented vowels," respectively.[16] Of these three, the last symbol is used most frequently. The symbol denoting vowel length is rarely employed. It appears that Hadley had problems with vowel length. He generally perceived a long vowel as an accented vowel.

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[15] According to Hadley's system, *ja͜ouna* (to go) constitutes one syllable but *la,ouna* (to bring) represents two syllables. Ibid., p. 40.

[16] Note the use of these symbols in the following words: *thēēke kurnā* (to make fitting), ibid., p. 43; *ăik-ăik* (one and one), ibid., p. 67; *aûttah* (flour), ibid., p. 72.

The syllable boundary symbol has another function, too. When placed between two consonant symbols such as "t,h, p,h," it indicates that they are "separately articulated."[17] It appears that Hadley employed this symbol to distinguish between "aspiration" and glottal *h*, and the notation was intended to mark aspirates. It is clear from his transcription of Hindi data that he lacked an adequate perception of Hindi aspiration. Although Hadley dwells on the problem of Roman graphemes such as *c* and *k* rendering one consonant sound [k], he makes no attempt to explain the difference between the dental and retroflex consonants. In other words, the transcriptional system relies heavily on the English writing system and represents only a preliminary attempt to express the pronunciation of Hindi words.

The grammar component covers the following Hindi parts of speech: noun, adjective, gender, number, case, pronoun, and verb. During the discussion of noun, gender, number, and case, rather than presenting a systematic overview, Hadley offers some "remarks" dealing mainly with word order. The description of the Hindi number and pronominal system is overly simplified along the lines of pidgin languages. Hadley rightly notes that Hindi has a two-number system—singular and plural. However, he adds that the process of pluralization does not involve inflexion, as it does in Greek and Latin.[18] Lexical pluralizers, namely, *sab* (all), *log* (people), and numerals, are employed instead. Of the two pluralizers, *sab* (all) and *log* (people), the former is used with nonhuman nouns whereas the latter is employed with human nouns.

The pronominal system employs the plural base forms to derive singular pronominal forms. Consider the first person pronominal system postulated by Hadley shown in Table 3.[19]

*TABLE 3*

First Person Pronouns[19]

| Case | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| Nominative | Hum, I | Hum log, we (people) |
| Genitive | Hummaurau, of me | Hum log, we (people) |
| Dative | Hum ko, to me (Donative) | Hum log, we (people) |
| | Humaurau pauss, to me | Hum log, we (people) |
| | (Itinerant; lit. near to me) | Hum log, we (people) |
| Ablative | Humaurau pauss sa, from me<br>(lit. from near to me) | Hum log, we (people) |
| | Humaurau wostah, for me | Hum log, we (people) |

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[17] Ibid., p. 38. By "separately articulated," Hadley seems to mean the unitary articulation of consonants as aspirated consonants rather than their cluster articulation.

[18] Ibid., p. 2.

[19] Ibid., p. 5. The target forms are as follows: *ham* (I), *ham log* (we), *hamārā* (of me), *ham ko* (to me), *hamāre pās* (near to me), *hamāre pās se* (from near to me), *hamāre vāste* (for me).

The other singular forms—*mai* (I); *merā* (my)—were analyzed as high and polite.[20] The honorific second person pronoun, *āp* (you), is treated as the first person singular reflexive pronoun as well as the second person *you.*[21]

The treatment of the Hindi case system is particularly interesting because Hadley examines the alternative analyses of Hindi case markers and thus sets the stage for linguistic controversies. He objects to the treatment of Hindi case markers as "termination" on the following grounds: One, they are not attached to both adjectives and nouns. Two, they do not alter the shape of nouns according to different declensions. Three, there is only one method of declining a noun in Hindi, that is, by adding one of the following "postpositions" or "articles" to a noun: nominative and accusative, zero; genitive, *kau* (of) (target form *ka*); dative, *ko* (to); ablative, *sa* (from, with) (correct form *se*), *ma* or *maingh* (in) (target form *mẽ*); vocative, *auou* (!O!).[22] Regarding their position in a phrase, it is pointed out that with the exception of the vocative case, they are not "prefixed." The language inverts the order of their position. By this Hadley means that postpositions follow nouns or pronouns. The term "article" is used in an entirely new context as synonymous with postposition. In all, he posits six cases for Hindi—nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, and ablative.

The section on verbs includes a discussion of moods, voices, and tenses. Five moods and six tenses are abstracted for Hindi: Moods: indicative, infinitive, imperative, optative, and potential. Tenses: present, preterperfect, preterimperfect, preterpluperfect, future indefinite, and future perfect.[23]

Hadley classifies Hindi tenses further into two classes: simple tenses and compound tenses.[24] The compound tenses are the preterimperfect, preterpluperfect, and future perfect. The underlying criterion that has gone into the classification seems to be syntactic, that is, the composition of a verb phrase. A tense composed of two or more constituents is labeled a compound tense, otherwise it is called a simple tense. The three compound tenses cited by Hadley are composed of two units—main verb and auxiliary. However, he excludes the present tense, which is also composed of two units. Why was the present tense excluded from the list of compound tenses? Or what was the precise basis of the classification of simple and compound tenses? These questions remain unanswered. Also, Hadley overlooked the existence of the present perfect tense, *dauṛā hai* (has run), in his classification of Hindi tenses, and he used the term "auxiliary verb" in the sense of the copula verb *to be.*[25]

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[20] Ibid., p. 7.

[21] With the exception of the genitive case, the distinction between Hindi reflexive pronoun *apnā* and second person honorific pronoun *āp* is neutralized. Hadley cites *auppna* (target form *apnā*) and *aup kau* (target form *āp kā*) as the genitive form of the first person reflexive and the second person pronoun, respectively (ibid., p. 7).

[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Hindi examples of the six tenses cited by Hadley are as follows: (1) present: *hum dourta hy* (I am running), (2) preterperfect: *hum dourah* (I ran), (3) preterimperfect: *hun dourta t,hau* (I was running), (4) preterpluperfect: *hum dourah t,hau* (I had run), (5) future: *hum douringa* (I will run), (6) future perfect: *hum dourah hoga* (I shall have run). For the complete paradigm, see ibid., pp. 28-29.

[24] Ibid., p. 15.

Other characteristics of his treatment of the verb are: (1) the imperative mood—the nonhonorific form, i.e., stem—is considered to be the base form in the derivation of tenses and participles; (2) there are two participles: the present (ending in *-tā*) and the preterit (ending in *-kā*; target form *kar*); (3) there are five verb conjugations: verb stems ending in *a*, *ee*, *ou*, *o*, or in a consonant; (4) except for the verb paradigms, no details are given about Hindi mood; and (5) the passive voice is derived by changing a nominative subject into a dative.[26] Although Hadley's account of the Hindi verb shows progress over his predecessors, it has several shortcomings—inadequate recording of data, indeterminacy of classification criteria, and an inadequate understanding of the semantics of Hindi tenses.

The dictionary component is unusual in the sense that instead of providing a mere listing of words and phrases, it attempts to exhibit the "expressive power" of words in the language. Hadley stressed the existence and the preference for "compound mode of speech" in Hindi.[27] His description of the compound mode of speech reveals that he was a step closer to recognizing the Hindi class of compound and conjunct verbs. In this context it is imperative to point out that the derivational morphology of the Hindi causative verb was a mystery for Hadley.[28] In addition to the most frequent vocabulary, important lexical items for military use are also presented in this section.

Unlike preceding grammars, the work gives no translated passages of the Bible or any other text.

The grammar has several distinctive merits and characteristics: One, it is the first grammar modeled after a grammar of the English language. Two, it laid some groundwork for future trends in Hindi grammar by initiating a dialogue on such new topics as causative verbs and compound verbs. Three, it showed some scattered signs of insightful, abstract analysis of Hindi verbs. A case in point is his analysis of the verb *lānā* (to bring) as composed of *lenā* (to take) and *ānā* (to come).[29] Four, the grammar is an important source of sociolinguistic information on the language, and it demonstrates the use of Hindi for special purposes.

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[25] Ibid., p. 19.

[26] For example, *hum sauheb ko darta* (target *ham sāhib ko ḍartā*) (I fear the master), *sauheb hum ko ḍarta* (master fears to me). According to Hadley, the latter is an example of passive voice. Ibid., p. 12.

[27] Three verbs, *karnā* (to do), *denā* (to give), *jānā* (to go), are especially noted because they act as auxiliaries to other verbs, nouns, and adjectives in the compound verb formation. Hadley observes that "there are an infinite number of verbs which have no other formation but by the assistance of the auxiliaries *kurna* or *dena*. *Jao͜una* (to go) is used as an auxiliary though not so frequently as the two former." Ibid., p. 34. The target forms of the three auxiliaries cited by Hadley are *karnā*, *denā*, and *jānā*.

[28] He observed that "there seems to be a distinction peculiar to this language, that no word whatever will operate both in reciprocal and efficient or relative sense; let it then be remembered, that by inserting *ou* after the imperative and before the characteristic of the infinitive, that efficient of any word whatever will be given, as *heelna* (to move one's self), *heelouna* (to make move or make anything else)." Ibid., pp. 35-36. The target forms of the two verb forms cited by Hadley are *hilana* and *hilānā*, respectively.

Like that of his predecessors, Hadley's work as a whole suffers from the inaccuracy of the data. Not suprisingly then, it has received harsh negative evaluation from native scholars and its positive contributions have gone largely unrecognized.[30]

### 3.2.1.2 John Ferguson, *A Grammar of the Hindustan Language* (1773)

Although Ferguson's work was not originally intended to be an independent grammatical treatise, it soon won that title on the basis of its size and scope. Prefixed to Ferguson's Hindi dictionary, the grammar was approximately twice the size of Hadley's. In some respects, the work is a step backward because Ferguson committed some errors which his predecessors had managed to sidestep. However, in his defense it should be stressed that he had no illusions about his shortcomings.[31]

Ferguson first presents a sociolinguistic profile of Hindi. For the first time, a definition of "grammar" and its classification are presented in a Hindi grammar. His definition of grammar is similar to that of a prescriptive grammarian.[32] Ferguson says there are two types of grammar—universal and particular—and then explains that his work represents the latter type. Ferguson may have been the first grammarian to exhibit a strong and systematic background in the area of grammar studies.

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[29] Ibid., p. 36.

[30] The harshest comments about the value of Hadley's work come from Kidwai. According to him, "The worth of this book can be judged by the following Urdu (or Hindi) translation of an English sentence on page 152." Kidwai, see Sadiq-Ur-Rahman, *Gilchrist and the Language of Hindoostan*, New Delhi, Racna Prakashan, 1972, p. 8. Since the Hindi-Urdu sentence in question contains errors, the implied message to the reader is that the work in question is unworthy of any discussion. Notice that Kidwai's remarks are typical of the views of native scholars that one wrong sentence is sufficient to condemn a grammar.

[31] The work was completed in England after Ferguson had left India, which imposed severe limitations. Ferguson was fully aware of the problem of writing a grammar in a nonnative context without any access to native informants. He states, "If the author had formed to himself, while in India, the most distant idea of attempting a work of this kind, the following performance would certainly have been much larger and fuller, and in every respect more complete and perfect." John Ferguson, op. cit., Introduction, p. i.

[32] "Grammar teaches us to communicate out in proper expressions." Ibid., p. 1.

The grammar presents an insightful analysis of the Hindi writing system and its relation to phonetics, adopting the Roman script for the transcription of Hindi words. Ferguson postulates twenty vowels and thirty-six consonants for Hindi. Citing that in the Devanāgarī script, pronunciation of a letter tends to be fixed (one letter denoting one sound), he emphasizes that Western learners of Hindi should learn the script in order to develop a perfect command over phonetics. He credits Indians "for the art of expressing sounds by proper characters to greater perfection than the Europeans have ever attained."[33] He was puzzled to observe the preference of Indians for the Perso-Arabic script. In his opinion, this tendency was a sign of slavery.

Ferguson classifies Hindi parts of speech into nine groups: article, noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, adverb, conjunction, interjection, and case. His treatment of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs has some striking similarities with those of his predecessors. For example, he adopts a phonetic-based four-way analysis of nouns similar to that proposed by Ketelaar. Like Schultz, he claims that the third person pronouns are marked for gender. Even his data on personal pronouns and comparative and superlative pronouns exhibit striking similarities with Schultz's.[34] His classification of tenses is identical with Hadley's six types of tenses. Similarly, he shares Hadley's notion of the imperative form being the base form in the derivation of other tenses. He also expresses the same kind of puzzlement over the existence of the class of causative verbs as expressed by Hadley.[35] The classification of moods differs slightly from that of Hadley, as Ferguson does not admit the optative mood. Although the author does not give any credit to his predecessors, it seems improbable that so many similarities arose either accidentally or merely because of his admitted reliance on the English grammar of Dr. Loath.

By noting similarities between Ferguson's work and previous grammars. I do not mean to accuse him of plagiarism. Instead, my point is that at this time signs of the influence of the early grammars on succeeding works is beginning to emerge. Furthermore, Ferguson did not borrow concepts or observations indiscriminately but made some attempts to improve the analysis of his predecessors. A case in point is that although Hadley confused the agentive reflexive pronoun (*apne*) *āp* (self), and the second person honorific pronoun *āp* (you), Ferguson clearly distinguished between the two.

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[33] Ibid., p. 2.

[34] What is especially intriguing is that even the Dakkinī Hindi data can be found in Ferguson's grammar. A case in point is his mention of the comparative marker *su* (than), as distinct from *se*, the ablative case marker.

[35] He points out that "there is a particular species of verb in the Hindustan for which it is difficult to find a proper name, but whose character is to express not any action but the causing of an action. It is no small advantage in the Hindustan to have particular species of verbs to express this particular meaning." Ferguson, op. cit., p. 57.

The author pays very little attention to Hindi morphology. This topic is covered only by way of explaining the process of deriving feminine nouns from masculine nouns. Regarding syntax, his approach is too simplistic. Arguing for striking similarities between the syntactic patterns of English and Hindi, he does not see the wisdom of giving details.[36] In no other grammar to this point was the interference of the first language of its creator as transparent and overwhelming as in this work. The author imposed English grammar on his description of Hindi. His classification of articles into two groups—one, like English articles *a*, *an*, *the* and two, pronominal articles such as *this*, *that*, etc.,—and labels such as "prepositions" for Hindi postpositions clearly demonstrate this point. Furthermore, his observations on the syntax of Hindi are also colored by syntactic rules of English. The subject-object-verb (SOV) Hindi word order is not stressed, instead some Hindi examples are given which leave the impression that Hindi is a subject-verb-object (SVO) language.[37] A tendency to present a literal translation of English sentences is another shortcoming of the work.[38]

### 3.2.1.3 John B. Gilchrist, *A Grammar of Hindoostanee Language* (1796)

Gilchrist was not only a pioneer in laying down the foundation of sophisticated and scientific inquiry in the area of Hindi grammar but also a principle figure behind the emergence of the tradition of teaching Hindi-Urdu as a second language in an academic setting. A medical surgeon turned oriental philologist and linguist, he dedicated himself to the cause of the Hindi language. He was a contemporary of Sir William Jones and occupied the same place in the history of Hindi-Urdu as Sir Jones did in the history of linguistics.

In recognition of his promotion of Hindi in India, particularly in the East India Company, Lord Wellesley appointed him the first head of the newly founded Fort William College in 1800. Among Gilchrist's several publications are his three well-known works on Hindi grammar—*A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language*,[39] *The Oriental Linguist*,[40] and *The Stranger's East*

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[36] He states, "It is unnecessary to enter into any very particular detail in regards to syntax. In the general rules of it, this language agrees with our own." Ibid., p. 57.

[37] Examples such as: *mai pyārtā dost ko* (I love my friend) (ibid., p. 22) are quite widespread in the grammar. Note that not only is the word order of the sentence SVO but also that the verb *pyārnā* (to love) represents a direct translation of the English verb. The coined Hindi verb is incorrect.

[38] Observe the following Hindi sentences cited by Ferguson: *mai sunā hai* (I am heard), *mai sunā huā* (I was heard). Ibid., p. 22.

[39] John Gilchrist, *A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language or Part Third of Volume First, of a system of Hindoostanee Philology* [henceforth, *Grammar*], Calcutta, The Chronicle Press, 1796. [Reprint Menston, The Scolar Press, 1970].

[40] John Gilchrist, *The Oriental Linguist*, Calcutta, Ferries & Greenway, 1798.

*India Guide*[41]—which occupy a special place in the history of Hindi grammar. His grammar served as a model for his successors. Some later Hindi grammars found their existence simply because his grammar could not keep up with the public's demand. The nature and the main properties of the work are outlined below.

The book is composed in ten chapters and represents the first exhaustive treatment of Hindi grammar (357 pages long). The work covers the following topics: writing system, nouns (article, gender, declension), pronouns, adjectives, verbs, abverbs (conjunction, postpositions, and interjections), morphology and syntax. With the exception of phonetics, all areas of Hindi receive equal importance. In addition, a new dimension was added by introducing "prosody" to Hindi grammar. The last chapter deals with miscellaneous topics such as the concept of time, the names of the days, weeks, months and samples of handwriting.

Gilchrist's approach to the treatment of the writing system is rather broad based in nature. Rather than focusing his attention on the introduction of the Devanāgarī or Perso-Arabic script, he proposes a complete transcription scheme for teaching Hindi in Roman characters. The proposed scheme is the direct result of his pedagogical convictions. Teaching a language and its orthography are two separate issues. Since Gilchrist's aim was to teach the language, it was not necessary for him to teach its writing system.[42] Therefore, he paid little attention to the teaching of the scripts. This practice was radically different from that of Beligatti and Ferguson, who overemphasized the teaching of scripts. For an Englishman, it is easier at first to learn Hindi in his own script and then the Hindi letters later.

*TABLE 4*

Gilchrist's Transcription System

Vowels: अ u, आ a, इ i, ई ee, उ ŏŏ, ऊ oo, ए e, ऐ ee, ओ o, औ au.

Consonants:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| क | k | ख | k,h | ग | g | घ | g,h | ङ | ng/nk |
| च | ch | छ | ch,h | ज | j | झ | j,h | ञ | n̆ |
| ट | t̆ | ठ | t̆,h | ड | d̆ | ढ | d̆,h | ण | n̆ |
| त | t | थ | t,h | द | d | ध | d,h | न | n |
| प | p | फ | p,h | ब | b | भ | b,h | म | m |
| य | y | र | r | ल | l | व | w | श | ſh |
| स | ſ | ह | h | ड़ | r̆ | ढ़ | r̆,h | | |

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[41] John Gilchrist, *Guide*, op. cit.

[42] As he wrote, "It must not be forgotten, that my intention is to teach a foreign tongue, in our own, not its character." Gilchrist, *Grammar*, op. cit., p. 4.

Gilchrist's scheme to transcribe Hindi vowels and consonants is shown in Table 4. There are some similarities between the notational systems of Gilchrist and Hadley. Gilchrist retained three symbols [,], [˘] and [¯], with some modified functions. The first symbol is used to represent aspirated consonants and to block the combination of vowels, that is, [oo] denotes pronunciation of the long vowel *u* whereas [o,o] expresses the conjunct pronunciation of the vowel [u]. The symbol [˘] also has a dual function. In addition to Hadley's use of it to indicate a short vowel, it is now also employed to indicate retroflexion. The third symbol [¯] when placed above a vowel denotes length (but is not used if a vowel is inherently long). However, when it comes between two sound segments, it marks a syllable boundary, for example, *pa-nee* (water) is composed of two syllables, *pa* + *nee*.

Later on this transcriptional scheme was also used in a wider context. It became a major tool in the process of standardizing the transcription of place names and proper names in British government documents.[43] From the viewpoint of the Hindi grammatical tradition, the proposed transcription was important for two reasons: it set the stage for a debate concerning whether Hindi should be taught as a second language via the Roman script, and it initiated a debate over the comparative value of Sir William Jones's transcription system and Gilchrist's.[44] The wider use of Gilchrist's scheme lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Gilchrist's discussion of Hindi nouns is significant because, for the first time, the declensions meet the conditions of grammatical as well as phonetic adequacy. Also, the term "oblique" form of nouns was introduced and defined appropriately. Gilchrist presents four rules to account for the declensions of nouns. The rules are based on their phonetic as well as orthographic properties.[45] He posits two genders—masculine and feminine—and eight rules to predict the gender of nouns. The rules of gender prediction are phonologically as well as semantically governed.[46] His exhaustive list of exceptions reveals that the exceptions to his rules stem primarily from (1) lexical borrowings from Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian and (2) dialectal variations, especially the religious dialects (Hindu vs. Muslim dialects). For pedagogical purposes, in addition to the specific rules and lists of exceptions, he also presents some general rules of thumb.[47]

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[43] On the need of standardizing the romanization of names in government documents, see Gilchrist, *Guide*, pp. 175-178. In an attempt to eliminate variations in romanizing place names, Gilchrist draws a distinction between their "vulgar" and "correct" transcription and suggests adopting his "correct" transcription. For details, see ibid., pp. 183-189.

[44] The French Hindi scholar Garcin de Tassy favored Sir Willam's system. Hindi grammarians such as Roebuck argued for the superiority of the Gilchrist system. For further details, see Kidwai, op. cit., pp. 120-121; on Sir William Jones's proposed system and the status of its adoption by publishers, see Shrīvāstava, *HKYV*, pp. 336-342.

[45] For example, consider the formulation of Rule I. The rule states that masculine nouns that terminate in *ā*, *a* and *ah* are inflected to *e* in their singular oblique and nominative plural form, Gilchrist, *Grammar*, p. 55. According to Gilchrist, this rule converts such nouns as *laṛkā* (boy), *dānā* (grain), and *masālah* (spice) into singular oblique and nominative plural. The structural description of the rule embodies two conditions: masculine nouns ending in (1) *ā* and (2) *a* and *ah*. The motivation for the second condition is the Perso-Arabic script. The nouns *dānā* and *masālah* are pronounced and written in the Devanāgarī script as *dānā* and *masālā*. From the view of Hindi phonetics and the Devanāgarī script, they end in *-ā*, consequently, there is no need to add the second condition into the rule. But in the Perso-Arabic writing system, the nouns end with distinct graphemes denoting *a* (*dāna*) and *ah* (*masālah*).

Prior to Gilchrist, grammarians experienced more difficulties in the description of pronouns than nouns. The oblique forms of pronouns together with the *ne-* forms posed considerable problems for them. They failed to comprehend properly why a pronoun in Hindi is sensitive to a three-way distinction—a simple case, oblique case and the *ne-* postpositions. Because they failed to arrive at a satisfactory solution to this problem, they arbitrarily mixed the three forms in their paradigms. They also lacked a clear notion of the existence of the class of honorific pronouns. The homophonous shape of third person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns created yet another confusion in their minds. Because of these three underlying problems, their paradigms were seldom free from error and their observations, particularly on the actual use of pronouns, were often inaccurate. With Gilchrist's grammar these problems were finally solved. In addition to presenting satisfactory paradigms of pronouns, he erased the confusion between the second person honorific pronoun *āp* and the agentive reflexive pronoun (*apne*) *āp* (self). Gilchrist paid considerable attention to the use of Hindi pronouns. He observes that for politeness English singular pronouns "must occasionally represent the Hindi plural."[48] Regarding the use of the first person singular pronoun, *mãĩ*, and the second person pronoun, *tū*, he notes that the former is retained in poetry and "among polite people who know how to humiliate themselves," and the latter is used for the expression of "solemnity, familiarity or contempt."[49] The other important features of his treatment of Hindi pronouns are: (1) the third person pronouns can also function as demonstrative pronouns and, thus, "are a kind of article";[50] (2) in the context of pronouns, the *ne* is recognized for the first time in a grammar written in English as "the nominative or oblique agent to active preterite verbs,"[51] and its pronominal forms together with its dialect variants are systematically enumerated: *us ne*, *vis ne* (he, she), *unne*, *unhõne*, *vinne*, *vinhõne* (they); (3) the first definite sign of the class of dative subjects emerges when Gilchrist observes that the English nominative case frequently yields an oblique case in Hindi in "inverse" expressions such as *mujhe shauk nahī̃* (I have no desire);[52] and (4) among the other classes of pronouns, interrogative, relative, and conditional pronouns receive adequate treatment, whereas pronouns such as *koī* (someone, something) are left unclassified.[53]

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[46] For instance his Rule I is a phonologically based rule whereas his Rule III utilizes largely semantic information. This rule states, "names of countries, hills, lakes, seas, woods, months and days, the letters of the alphabets—and in short, every noun not feminine by the foregoing rule are masculine." Ibid., p. 44.

[47] For example, a part of Rule III states that "there being much less harm in using a feminine noun in the masculine gender, than reversing this practice, which from the impossibility of reducing many feminines under any rule is very excusable, and in some parts of Hindoostan almost universally adopted." Ibid., p. 44.

[48] Ibid., p. 64.

[49] Ibid.

[50] The demonstrative pronouns were for the first time identified and classified into "remote and proximate demonstratives." Ibid., p. 64.

The topic of adjectives deals more with Arabic and Persian than with Hindi. Of the five rules formulated to account for adjectives, only one deals with Hindi adjectives per se and that too is not entirely correct.[54] A new class of numeral adjectives is posited and is further divided into cardinal, ordinal, collective, fractional, and multiplicative subclasses.[55] The treatment of numerals as part of adjectives was a significant departure from the earlier grammatical literature which either overlooked this topic or treated it independently of adjectives. The motivations for analyzing ordinal numerals as adjectives were their identical behavior with adjectives in terms of word order in a noun phrase and their tendency to decline with a following noun.

The Hindi verbs are discussed in four sections: verbs and their conjugations (*rūp*), moods and tenses, auxiliaries, and verb formation. Instead of making any mention of the similar conjugational system posited by his predecessors Hadley and Ferguson, Gilchrist credits himself with reducing all verbs to one conjugation which changes according to mood and tense, and to which person inflexions are added.[56] Detailing this point, he adds that "every infinitive ends in *nā* which when taken away, leaves the common contracted form of that mood or the imperative; and this assuming *-tā* forms the present tense and participle; which *-ā* or *yā* (when the imperative itself terminates in *-ā* or *o*) the perfect tense and participle; with *ū̃gā* the future, with *-ū̃* the aorist, and alone or with *karke*, *e*, *kar*, *ke* the preterperfect participle."[57] About the class of verbs which mystified his predecessors, Gilchrist observes that Hindi has an "extensive and useful" class of causals, created by the insertion of *-wā*.

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[51] Ibid., p. 66. See his fn. 80.

[52] Ibid., p. 64.

[53] The term "conditional" is employed for correlative pronouns, ibid., p. 72.

[54] The rule is formulated as follows: Adjectives that terminate in *ā* and *nā* become *e* and *ne* (respectively) in masculine oblique and nominative plurals, but *ī* for the feminines. Notice that the second disjunctive condition (i.e., *nā*) is motivated by consideration of the Perso-Arabic script alone. A phonetic-based formulation of the rule does not require the second condition. For similar shortcomings involving the formulation of rules dealing with Hindi nouns, see fn. 45 of this chapter.

[55] Some Hindi examples are: cardinal (*ek* [one], *do* [two]); ordinal (*pahlā* [first], *dūsrā* [second]); collective (*hazār* [a thousand], *karoṛ* [a million]); fractional (*ādhā* [one-half], *savā* [one-quarter]); and multiplicative (*caugunā* [four times]).

[56] Ibid., p. 98.

[57] Ibid., p. 99.

At first glance Gilchrist's tense system appears to be a close approximation of the work of his two English predecessors, who postulated a six-tense system for Hindi. However, a close examination of the three systems reveals some significant differences in labels and their semantics, as it is evident from Table 5.

*TABLE 5*

| Gilchrist | Hadley | Ferguson | Hindi Examples |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present | Present | Present | jatā hai (goes) |
| Perfect | Preterperfect | Perfect | gayā (went) or thā (was) |
| Preterimperfect | Preterimperfect | Imperfect | jātā thā (used to go) |
| Preterperfect | — | — | gayā hū̃ (have gone) |
| Preterpluperfect | Preterpluperfect | Pluperfect | gayā thā (had gone) |
| Future I | Future I | Future I | jāū̃gā (will go) |
| Future II | — | — | jānā cāhtā hū̃ (want to go) |
| — | Future perfect | — | diyā hū̃gā (shall have given) |
| — | — | Future II | sakẽge (will be able to) |

The symbol [—] indicates no correspondence.

With the exception of the present tense, the similarities of the labels among the three grammarians is misleading. Both Hadley and Ferguson overlook the tense Gilchrist calls preterperfect. Actually, Hadley's preterperfect tense is synonymous with the perfect tense of both Gilchrist and Ferguson. They all subscribe to two types of future tense, but the second future of Gilchrist has no correspondence with Hadley's future perfect or Ferguson's future two. To Gilchrist it meant desiderative sentences in Hindi, whereas to Hadley it conveyed future presumptive. And Ferguson's conception of a second future was motivated by his misconception of the first person singular forms and plural forms.[58]

From the discussion of mood it appears that Gilchrist reduced the five moods posited by Hadley to four: indicative, imperative, infinitive, and conjunctive or aorist. With respect to the first three, there was widespread agreement among the grammarians of this era, although terminological and substantive differences still persisted about the remaining moods in Hindi.

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[58] The "future one" overgeneralizes the *-ū̃gā* (first person, masc. sg.) type forms and the "future two" overgeneralizes and assigns masculine plural forms *-ege* to all persons singular and plural alike. Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

Significant progress was registered when Gilchrist addressed himself to three problematic areas of his time, namely, causative verbs, compound verbs, and the passive voice, and, indeed, succeeded in presenting their basic form and function.[59] In addition, he provided some insights about the totally neglected area of the semantics of Hindi tenses. He reveals that one tense can be used to express other tenses as well. This tendency is sometimes shared by English while in other uses it is specific to Hindi. For example, the perfect form, in common discourse, seems at times to supply the reading of both present and future tenses, especially when speed, power, probability, or certainty are implied. According to Gilchrist, a Hindi sentence such as *aṅgrez ne dillī lī* (the Englishmen took Delhi) was a current expression of the time, implying that the British nation may, can, will now or hereafter take Delhi. Similarly, the present tense of both the indicative and subjunctive moods was perceived with the power of the future tense.[60]

Under the topic of "indeclinables," Gilchrist gives examples of adverbs, interjections, and conjunctions and provides primary information about their forms and functions. But he states that indeclinables do not deserve in-depth treatment because necessary information about them can be obtained from Hindi dictionaries. The topic of Hindi morphology interested him much more and here received its first direct treatment when Gilchrist opted in favor of a purely structural approach, abandoning the earlier practice of treating this topic under the heading of the derivation of Hindi nouns and adjectives.[61] On the basis of the position of affixes and changes in the base morpheme, the process of Hindi word formation is divided by Gilchrist into four categories: (1) the adjunctives, (2) the prepositives, (3) the intermediate particles, and (4) the inflective *-ā*. The adjunctives and prepositives refer broadly to suffixes and prefixes, respectively. More than one hundred particles or suffixes together with approximately forty prefixes are given. The intermediate particles, which connect two identical nouns, are six—*ba*, *a*, *be*, *o*, *na*, *ka*.[62] Finally, the inflective *-a* accounts for the productive process of deriving feminine, diminutive, and other forms, such as *laṛkī* (girl) from *laṛkā* (boy), *golī* (bullet) from *golā* (ball), etc. Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian affixes are also included in the discussion. Rarely in the Hindi grammatical tradition did this topic receive such an in-depth analysis as offered here. In many respects, Gilchrist's treatment of morphology remains unsurpassed to this day.

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[59] See Gilchrist, *Grammar*, pp. 145-154, 155-160, 101, respectively. For paradigms of verbs with passive voice see pp. 115-119.

[60] Ibid., p. 128.

[61] For further details, see ibid., p. 168.

[62] Some Hindi examples are: *roz ba roz* (daily), *shab a shab* (all night), *waqt be waqt* (now and then), *rat o rat* (in the night), *kuch na kuch* (something or other), *jaṅgal kā jaṅgal* (the whole jungle), ibid., p. 187.

The term "syntax" also found its expression in the grammar. For Schultz and other earlier grammarians the discussion of syntax was synonymous with the word order of nominals, adjectivals, pronominals, and adverbials in a phrase. Under the new definition of syntax, topics such as dative subjects,[63] interrogatives, negation, and the syntax and semantics of emphatic particles such as *hī* and enclitics such as *to* found their way into Hindi grammar.[64] Observing the shortcomings of earlier works, Gilchrist points out, "It is a melancholy reflexion, that a space of thirty or forty years has rather heaped error over error in Hindoostanee publications from the London Press, than the smallest tendency to eradicate them entirely."[65] One of the important goals of his grammar was to eliminate "the inaccurate and inadequate performances of his predecessors."[66] Undoubtedly, he had enormous success in achieving this goal and, thanks to his work, many nagging problems of his predecessors were solved.

The two later works of Gilchrist, *Guide* and *The Oriental Linguist*, deserve special attention in the history of Hindi, not only for observing the progress of his grammatical thought but also by virtue of their complementary nature. The two works can best be characterized as grammars of Hindi for special purposes. For example, *Guide* is noteworthy for providing the first extensive lists after Ketelaar of military terms, conversations and phrases.[67]

A main difference between the Gilchrist's and Ketelaar's treatment of Hindi for special purposes is that Gilchrist's works focus exclusively on the use of Hindi in the military profession and place more emphasis on conversations and frequent expressions used in military Hindi than on isolated military terms. In addition Gilchrist sometimes provides a detailed description of the pragmatics of actual language use in the military.[68] A noteworthy complementary feature of the works under discussion is Gilchrist's inclusion of the topic of "corruptions" of the Hindi and English lexicon. The language contact situation between Hindi and English had led to the development of a set of new vocabulary which could be characterized as pidginized vocabulary. For example, *aj-wār* from "as you were," *hukamdār?* from "who comes there?" *āp-kā sulūk* from "half cock fire lock," were Hindi expressions developed from English. This was the first time in Hindi grammar that the class of pidginized Hindi-English vocabulary was recognized as corruptions, and Gilchrist gives some valuable information on the emergence of new Hindi vocabulary in the professions.[69]

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[63] Rule XI states that, in Hindi, verbs such as *honā, lagnā, paṛnā, milnā, ānā, bannā, sūjhnā, bhānā*, etc., govern the use of the dative marker *ko* with a subject. Ibid., p. 227. Gilchrist observed that the English pronominal form *me* is an old nominative form, thus implying that the occurrence of dative forms in a subject position cannot be seen as an unnatural phenomenon in natural languages. See his fn. f for details, ibid., p. 227.

[64] For further discussion of these topics, see Gilchrist's Rule VI for interrogatives (pp. 212-214, also p. 239); for negation, see Rule VIII on p. 241; for emphatics and enclitics see Rule XX, p. 244 and fn. 1, p. 245 about the Hindi enclititc *to*.

[65] Gilchrist, *Guide*, pp. x-xi.

[66] Ibid., p. ix.

[67] Observe following examples of Hindi lexical items used by the military in his time: *baṛhnā* (to advance), *bạrūd golī* (ammunition), *hathiyār* (arms), *ṭolī* or *ṭolā* (division), *daṅgā, fasād, hangāmā* (mutiny), *sardār* (officer), *kirch* (sword), *jāsūs, bhediyā* (spy), *dūrbīn* (spy glasses/binoculars), phrases or expressions such as *banduq utāro* (order arms) and *saṅgīn caṛhāo* (fix bayonet). For further details, see Gilchrist, *Guide*, pp. 85-96.

[68] Having given the Hindi equivalent —*caddar* or *dopṭṭa hilānā*— of the English term *chamade*, Gilchrist gives the following note: "To wave a sheet or cloth of any kind round the head repeatedly implies that the people who do so, consider themselves in the power of the enemy and mean to submit accordingly. This in daylight answers every purpose, but the rude state of military tactics in

Other achievements and striking features of Gilchrist's grammar are as follows: One, an attempt is made to capture observations about the language in terms of quite precisely and rigorously formulated rules. This practice is radically different from earlier grammars which satisfied themselves with categorical statements and too-general rules. In addition, Gilchrist was the first grammarian to present exceptions to his rules at great length. Two, grammars prior to Gilchrist failed to develop the concept of style. Although they indiscriminately mingled several styles of Hindi, they depended on spoken Bazar Hindi or colloquial Hindi for their data. Gilchrist's grammar received input from a wide variety of sources, the most important of which was Hindi-Urdu literature. From the perspective of Indian scholars, this met one of the important prerequisites of a grammar, that is, the inclusion of *shishṭa* (civilized) language. Furthermore, the practice raised the status of Hindi from a "vernacular" to a "language" in the eyes of the general audience. Three, and most important, his work views Hindi as an independent language. Unlike his predecessors, Gilchrist did not set out to find the linguistic mirror image of Latin or English in the language. Thus he was not surprised or mystified at the discovery of rules or properties which were not shared by English or Latin. Such an approach led him to an insightful analysis of Hindi. Four, Gilchrist placed an equal emphasis on the correctness of data at the syntactic and the phonetic level.

### 3.2.1.4 John Shakespear, *A Grammar of the Hindustani Language* (1813)

Although Shakespear's grammar was published primarily to fill the gap created when Gilchrist's grammar went out of print, five other editions of this

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the East has not yet provided an adequate expedient for hostile attacks at night. The natives would under such circumstances give over firing, calling out *al aman-al aman* or *aman-aman*, and probably wave a light or torch circularly in the air to show that they had submitted and expected mercy accordingly". Ibid., p. 89 (fn. 8).

[69] For details, see ibid., pp. 175-182.

work appeared during the span of half a century.[70] The fourth edition added a short grammar of Dakkinī Hindi. A summary of the first edition was published in his dictionary under the title *An Introduction to the Hindustani Language*, published in London in 1845. Shakespear's work is much shorter than Gilchrist's. This is in agreement with its primary goal to "exhibit the outlines of grammar on a reduced scale, yet so, that no material object may be passed unnoticed or ill-defined."[71] In other words, then, this work represents a condensed grammar of Hindi.

In view of the stated goals of the grammar, it is not fair to expect significant advances over Gilchrist from this work. However, this is not to say that the grammar contents itself with a mere summary of earlier works. The grammar exhibits considerable originality and, indeed, contains some new features. The treatment of Hindi verbs is especially noteworthy. Rather than recognizing a separate class of Hindi moods and aspects, Shakespear merges them with tenses. Consequently, the number of tenses he proposes is much higher than that of any previous grammarian. Whether such a tense scheme was a result of pedagogical considerations or of theoretical concerns, the author does not say.

*TABLE 6*

Subclasses of Tenses

| Present | Past | Future |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Indefinite Present<br>(I call) | 5. Indefinite Past<br>(I called) | 10. Indefinite Future Aorist or Subjunctive<br>(I may/shall/will call) |
| 2. Preterite Present/ Imperfect<br>(I was calling) | 6. Preterite/Remote Past/ Pluperfect<br>(I had called) | 11. Definite Future<br>(I shall/will call) |
| 3. Instant Present<br>(I am calling) | 7. Instant/Proximate Past<br>(I have called) | |
| 4. Future Present/ Dubious Present<br>(I shall be calling) | 8. Future Past/Dubious Past<br>(I shall/will/may have called) | |
| | 9. Conditional and Optative Past<br>(If I had called) | |

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[70] John Shakespear, *A Grammar of the Hindustani Language*, London, Cox and Baylis, 1813. According to the author, "Since the very copious and original grammar of the Hindustani language, published by Dr. Gilchrist at Calcutta in 1796, has become out of print, the students of that 'useful dialect,' though much increased in number by the East India Company, have been able to obtain no elementary work for their aid in acquiring a knowledge of the characters, at the same time with grammar rules of the language. The following attempt has, therefore, been made to supply this deficiency." Ibid., p. v. The later editions appeared in 1818, 1826, 1843, 1846, and 1858.

[71] Ibid., p. vi.

The main division into three tenses—present, past, and future—is in agreement with earlier grammarians. However, what makes his treatment radically different is his proposed subclassification of the main tenses (summarized in Table 6) and his observations about formal similarities between imperative and indefinite future.[72]

In comparison to Gilchrist, the topics of compound verbs and causative verbs are dealt with very briefly. Shakespear did not make use of Gilchrist's elaborate classificatory system of compound verbs. In spite of its brevity, his classification is better than that of his predecessors. Adopting a structurally oriented approach, Shakespear arrived at the following five classes of compound verbs: (1) noun/adjective + *karnā* (to do); (2) verb [stem] + verb; (3) verb [past participle] + verb; (4) verb [present participle] + verb; and (5) verb [infinitive] + verb.[73]

Shakespear also postulated a separate class of "derivative verbs" to account for verbs derived from nonverbal categories such as nouns (*lāt* [leg]—> *latiyānā* [to kick]). Except for the difference in terms, his classification of participles was more similar to that of Hadley than to Gilchrist's, as is evident in the three classifications summarized in Table 7 on participles. Shakespear did not subscribe to the perfect and future participles of Gilchrist. The three terms "preterit" (Hadley), "preterperfect" (Gilchrist) and "conjunctive past" (Shakespear) refer to the participle formed with addition of *kar* or its variants *ke* or zero to a stem as exemplified by such phrases as *jā kar* (having gone).

*TABLE 7*

Participles

| Hadley | Gilchrist | Shakespear |
|---|---|---|
| Present | Present | Present |
| Preterit | Preterperfect | Conjunctive Past |
| — | Perfect | — |
| — | Future | — |

The symbol [—] indicates absence.

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[72] He notes that with the exception of second person singular, which is the mere root, and "respectful and precative forms," the imperative is the same in form as the indefinite future. Ibid., p. 78.

[73] Ibid., pp. 59-61. In contrast with this system, Gilchrist's classification was motivated by a set of multiple criteria. His system divided Hindi compound verbs into three main classes: *Class I* is subclassified into three divisions: *Division I*: "Wild irregular combinations" denoting the English equivalents away, up, off, down. *Division II:* Frequentative: Verb [perfect] + *karnā*. *Division III:* (1) Inceptive: Stem + *ne* + *lagnā*, (2) Desiderative: Infinitive + *cāhnā* (to want), (3) Frequentative: Verb [present participle] + *rahnā* (to remain). The three divisions are based mainly on translational, semantic, and syntactic criteria, respectively. Classes II and III are devoted to verbs formed with nouns + *karnā* and adjectives + *karnā*, respectively. Gilchrist, *Grammar*, pp. 155-160.

Other important features of the work are as follows: One, it takes considerable interest in defining the function and classification of the basic parts of speech. This was seldom true of the earlier grammarians, except for Ferguson.[74] In his opening remarks on participles, Shakespear states, "By the participles ideas of action, of time, and even of the agent may be indefinitely conveyed."[75] Two, it makes some room for old Indian and Asian grammatical thoughts on the topics covered. Consider, for example, his opening remarks on nouns: "Though the grammarians of India, as well as of most other parts of Asia, regard the verb, and perhaps with reason, as the first principle of language, yet for the Europeans the arrangement to which they are generally accustomed may be found most convenient; and the noun will, therefore, here take the lead of the other parts of speech. The European terms of grammar, too ill-selected to denote their use in a language will be preferred to more appropriate ones of the East."[76] This was the first work to make frequent references to the superiority of Indian grammatical thought. Three, another feature is the total reliance on the Perso-Arabic script; Shakespear rarely offers Roman transcription of Hindi lexical items. After introducing both the Perso-Arabic and the Devanāgarī scripts and the phonetic value of letters, he provides no aid in deciphering Hindi words by means of a Roman transliteration or transcription, thus forcing a student to master the scripts as fast as possible. Four short stories, handwritten samples of the Devanāgarī and Perso-Arabic scripts, together with a list of frequent verb roots and a list of technical terms (grammatical rather than professional) are also presented.

### 3.2.2 *Non-British Grammarians: Russian and Portuguese*

#### 3.2.2.1 H. Lebedeff, *A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects* (1801)

Although Herasim Lebedeff's work appeared after several works of Gilchrist, his grammar offered no advance in Hindi grammar and did not even approach the supremacy of Gilchrist's works.[77] In spite of this, Lebedeff "deserves more than a mere entry on account of his extra-ordinary adventure."[78] This remarkable and talented Russian started his Indian career in 1785 at Madras. Migrating to Calcutta after two years, he began learning

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[74] In general, Shakespear has more in common with Ferguson than with other early grammarians.

[75] Shakespear, op. cit., p. 51.

[76] Ibid., p. 25.

[77] Herasim Lebedeff, *A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects*, London, 1801, [1963 edition], Calcutta, K.L. Mukhopadyay Publisher. The last name is also spelled as Lebedev.

[78] Grierson, *LSI*, p. 10.

Sanskrit, Bengali, and Hindi (or what he calls the "Indian Mixed Dialect") from a Pandit. He translated two English plays into Bengali, one of which was performed on stage. This earned him great fame, and he became the manager of a theater in Calcutta in 1796. After his return to England for financial reasons, he published his grammar. Finally, he returned to his country of origin, Russia.

Although Lebedeff developed an extraordinary sensitivity to Indian culture and languages, this sensitivity failed to translate itself meaningfully into his work on Hindi grammar. Although he fiercely attacked his fellow European grammarians for their insensitivity toward Indian culture and for their inadequate data collection, his work cannot be judged as more than ordinary. The unique property of his grammar is a massive interference from Bengali and Sanskrit. In his description of the language and presentation of linguistic data he failed to keep the three languages apart. This was caused primarily by his language-learning experience in Calcutta. He had such an overwhelming faith in his training and language acquisition that he failed to recognize that his dialect was not representative of the Hindi language. Such a misconception of Hindi led him to criticize sometimes unfairly the data of his predecessors. The data presented in his grammar can be characterized as Bengali-Hindi or Calcutta-Hindi.[79] In addition, there are errors of other kinds.[80]

#### 3.2.2.2 Anonymous, *Grammática Indostana* (1778)

*Grammática Indostana* was the only grammar of this period which was not written in English but by an anonymous author in Portuguese.[81] The grammar, published six years after the publication of Hadley's grammar, is primarily data oriented; about two-thirds of it are devoted to a lexicon of Hindi. The grammar shares important properties of this time. It does not make any mention of the scripts of Hindi but instead gives some pronunciation cues of the letters used in the transcription.

Its general organization is as follows: article, noun, pronoun, verb, participle, adverb, conjunction, "preposition" and interjection. It appears that the grammar makes use of earlier works; for example, the discussion of Hindi nouns is heavily dependent upon Mills's version of Ketelaar's grammar. From the perspective of the development of Hindi grammatical thinking, this work does not contribute to the existing knowledge of the time. The structure of the list of phrases and vocabulary seems to have more in common with the dictionary section of Ketelaar's original manuscript than with any other existing grammar of the time. This leads one to speculate that the author may have had access to the original grammar of Ketelaar. The treatment of verbs is more advanced than some other contemporary grammatical works—at least much better than that of Hadley. The grammar is not free from error and follows its own Portuguese system of transcription, for example, the letters *q* and *c* represent the sounds [j] and [k], respectively.

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[79] Lebedeff, op. cit., p. 23. For a brief review of his work by a contemporary see Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. x, especially paragraph two; also for Grierson's criticism of his transcription and account of the grammatical structure of the language, see Grierson, *LSI*, p. 10.

[80] For example, he treats *sab* (all) as an article and *log* (people) as a postposition.

[81] Anonymous, *Grammática Indostana, a mais vulgar que se practica no Império do gram Mogol offerecida aos muitos reverendos Padres Missionários do ditto Império*, Rome, Na Estamperio da Sagrada Congregação de Propaganda Fide, 1778. Grierson credits this work for drawing attention to the *ne* construction for the first time in Hindi grammatical literature, Grierson, 1895, op. cit. [in Chapter 2], p. 49. For its Hindi translation, see S.G. Rajvade, *Grammatica Indostana*, Mathura, Jawahar Pustkalaya, 1977.

## 3.3 *Conclusion*

### 3.3.1 *General Properties*

With Shakespear's grammar, the Gilchrist era of Hindi grammar comes to an end. Of course, the classification of Hindi grammar into different periods is by no means watertight—similarities among the different periods are as common as differences—but this era is named after Gilchrist since he was the principle architect of the grammatical scholarship of the time and had a significant impact on subsequent periods. Having taken notice of the principal grammarians individually, we can now summarize the general properties of the grammars of this period.

The grammars most commonly use the term "Hindi" and preferably "Hindustani" to label the variety of language under investigation.[82] The popular term was "Moors," a usage the grammarians vehemently attacked. The term "Urdu" had yet to gain currency and was used only to refer to the language of the military camps. In view of the currency of the three terms—Moors, Hindi, and Hindustani—Gilchrist made some serious attempts to make the term Hindustani standard.[83]

The context in which the Gilchrist grammar grew was essentially pedagogical and had remained unchanged since the time of Ketelaar. The lexicographic tradition formed a part, though often a distinct and independent one. Often either long appendices or independent dictionaries were written to go with the grammars. Some topics such as adverbs and numerals were left to the mercy of dictionaries and were given little attention in the grammars. With lexicography gradually gaining independent status, other areas covered by the grammars were: script, parts of speech, morphology, syntax, and translation passages.

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[82] Hadley and Ferguson use the terms "Indostan" and "Hindustan," respectively. The other spelling variants of "Hindustani" are "Hindoostanee," and "Hindoostaanee."

[83] Gilchrist, *Appendix* (to part I of the Dictionary), Calcutta, Ferris and Greenway, 1798, p. xx.

With the exception of Hadley, Lebedeff, and the anonymous Portuguese grammarian, no grammarian overlooked the topic of script. Two extreme viewpoints were present: On one hand, grammarians such as Ferguson and Shakespear strongly advocated teaching the Devanāgarī and Perso-Arabic scripts, respectively, while on the other hand, Gilchrist, Hadley, and others favored the use of the Roman script in the teaching of the language.

The area of phonetics, which had gone rather unrepresented during the preceeding era (with the notable exception of Beligatti), now began to receive a little more attention with the growing emphasis on scripts and transcription systems. By the end of the Gilchrist era, as the discussion of three scripts—Roman, Perso-Arabic and Devanāgarī—formed an integral part of Hindi grammar, a definite correlation emerged between the selection of a script and the treatment of phonetics per se. The grammars with Roman script placed least emphasis on Hindi phonetics (the point and manner of articulation, phonemic and phonetic status of sounds, correlation between letters and sounds, etc.), whereas it was a major topic in the texts with Devanāgarī script. In any case, the topic of phonetics was still not seen as independent of scripts.

The scope of Hindi grammar was extended beyond the treatment of the four parts of speech—nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs. The noteworthy addition was "indeclinables." Hindi morphology, which became from now on an imperative topic for a grammar text, was to some extent a natural consequence of the independent development of the lexicographic tradition. From Hadley's time onward, grammarians made systematic efforts to abstract some "invariable rules" at the lexical level and thus began the investigation of some aspects of Hindi morphology, namely, causative verbs. The topic of syntax also began to gain prominence. It was no longer synonymous with word order but became a mixed bag of syntactic and semantic accounts of Hindi parts of speech. A notable change was also visible in the translation passages. Rather than provide translations of Bible passages, grammarians included translations of secular stories together with handwritten samples of nonreligious texts. The new area of prosody also began to creep into the domain of Hindi grammar.

Other main general characteristics of the grammars under consideration are as follows: One, an important shift was seen in their model of language. Instead of following the religious-colonial model of their predecessors, they overwhelmingly adopted a model which can be termed "the secular model." Consequently, they did not seek the explanation for Hindi linguistic phenomena in Hebrew or Latin. They either increased their dependence on vernaculars, Hindi or English, for their explanations or analyzed the language in the context of the philosophy of language or language universals. Two, the grammars were modeled primarily after English rather than Latin grammatical texts. The grammatical terms, the pattern of topics, and the rules of English grammar were often imposed on Hindi for pedagogical convenience, but this often lead to an improper understanding of the language-specific behavior of Hindi. All but one grammarian chose to write in English; no grammar was written in Latin. Three, the preference for massive amounts of data did not diminish even with the rapid acceleration in the area of data classification, analysis, and interpretation. But more emphasis was placed on the inclusion of large data bases of written rather than spoken Hindi. Although the teaching of the functional variety of Hindi was still the goal, the written variety of the language was no longer excluded from Hindi grammar. However, it should be added that no attempt was made to introduce classical or medieval Hindi (of Sūrdās, Tulsīdās or Kabīr). Four, the grammars were not yet totally free from impressionistic or folk perceptions of the language. However, they were becoming more and more prescriptive along the lines of classical grammars.

### 3.3.2 *Problems and Shortcomings*

Unlike the grammarians of the previous era, the Gilchrist grammarians were quite outspoken about problems and shortcomings of their own or their fellow grammarians. From their accounts, it is clear that the urgent problems that preoccupied them were mainly methodological and analytical. Grammarians such as Hadley, Lebedeff, and Gilchrist were quite concerned about the qualifications of their predecessors, their inaccessibility to a wide range of qualified informants, and a lack of pedagogical material.[84] Gilchrist was specially concerned about the transcriptional and analytical errors committed in the grammars of his time. However, the domain of their problems and shortcomings was much larger than they themselves imagined.

With the establishment of Fort William College, many nagging theoretical, methodological, and analytical problems were eliminated as the result of the healthy interaction between Indian scholars and British grammarians. However, with the advances in Hindi grammar, some other problems surfaced. The new problems were primarily of an analytical nature and were caused by three major factors: (1) imposition of English as a model, (2) imposition of attitudinal judgments on Hindi grammar, and (3) an inadequate theory of rule formulation. Of the three, the first was most problematic.

The grammarians of this period followed the model of English grammar for Hindi even when they realized its inadequacy. The imposition of English grammar, often motivated by pedagogical convenience, led to several weaknesses in the grammars. English grammatical terms and categories—such as "preposition" and "article"—were borrowed no matter how incompatible they might be. Even the sequence of grammatical topics was patterned after English grammar. The discussion of Hindi parts of speech invariably began with the discussion of the article. Some grammatical distinctions of the English language were overgeneralized in the context of Hindi. The extreme results of such imposition became apparent when grammarians such as Ferguson attempted to classify articles into two groups: original English articles (*a*, *an*, *the*) and demonstrative articles (*this* and *that*). Rather than postulating a class of demonstrative pronouns in Hindi, he goes on to create additional distinctions in English grammar to account for the language-specific properties of Hindi. Even when the language-specific categories of Hindi, such as the class of compound verbs, were noted, their classification could not free itself from the influence of English. Even Gilchrist, the most able grammarian, fell victim to this practice by attempting to classify Hindi compound verbs using their English translational equivalent as a major criterion.

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[84] For the blistering critique of the methodological and analytical problems of his predecessors, see Lebedeff, op. cit., preface, pp. 7-21. The main points of Gilchrist's and Hadley's discussion on the topic are summarized in the relevant subsections of 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

Although the grammarians were far ahead of their time in terms of their attitudes toward Hindi speakers and the language itself, nevertheless they could not totally distance themselves from deep-rooted prejudices. And these prejudices sometimes interfered with their grammatical explanations. Consider, for example, the following remarks by Gilchrist on the frequent use of *cāhiye* (want/need): "The learners by this time will be able to account for the frequent introduction of *cāhiye* in the expression alluded to above, will also perceive how useful such a word as this must prove to the pompous and lazy Indians."[85] Most of the grammarians reacted positively to the phenomenon of regularity in the language and negatively to irregularity. For regularities they used such labels as "beautiful," and "magnificent" and for the irregularities such terms as "defects," "deficiencies," and "wild."[86]

Rule formulation of the pre-Gilchrist as well as Gilchrist grammars suffered because the rules were more or less interpretive and unnecessarily complex in nature. Very often the rules sacrificed simplicity for the sake of the overall economy. A set of incompatible conditions—such as attempting to deal simultaneously with script, phonetics, borrowings, and semantics— are indiscriminately collapsed into a rule. The rules also suffer from overgeneralization.

Finally, as the practice of grammar writing intensified so did the need for grammatical terms. The grammarians often coined new terms, modified the existing terms of English grammar, or used old terms in an idiosyncratic fashion.[87] Consequently, the ambiguity of the grammatical terms and the lack of agreement over the terms among the grammarians became important weaknesses of the grammars.

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[85] Gilchrist, *Grammar*, p. 143.

[86] For examples of positive labels, see the discussion of causative verbs (Sec. 3.2.1). For negative labels, see the section on "the degree of comparison" in Hadley, op. cit., p. 11; and note the title "Auxiliary, Impersonal, Irregular, Defective and Other Verbs," Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. 140.

[87] The term article was used in at least four different contexts—to refer to English articles, Hindi demonstrative pronouns, Hindi postpositions, and the pronoun *sab* (all).

### 3.3.3 *Accomplishments and Significance*

With these studies, the formative stage of Hindi comes to an end. By eliminating some century-old weaknesses, Hindi grammar entered a new phase which can be considered correct and systematic. Grammarians such as Gilchrist and Shakespear were truly "grammarians" and not merely second-language learners. The entrance into this phase was by no means gradual. Hindi grammar abruptly found itself in this new phase by suddenly bypassing the slow and gradual route of progression followed by grammarians from Ketelaar to Ferguson. If this rate of growth had persisted, Hindi grammar would have had to wait for about a century to measure up to the level of the works by Gilchrist and Shakespear.

The accomplishments of the Gilchrist grammars and grammarians were multifaceted. Rapid progress was registered in every aspect of Hindi grammar. Their articulate and vigorous support of Hindi not only opened a new era of Hindi grammar writing, studying, and teaching but also widened the scope of Hindi grammar. The path for future research was prepared by their inclusion of such new topics as causative and compound verbs, the passive, prosody, and the ergative *-ne* construction. New grammatical terms, Indic and non-Indic in origin, were coined as grammatical activities intensified and their needs grew. Toward the end of this period Shakespear felt compelled to give an index of grammatical terms in his grammar. Finally, Hindi grammar was able to attain descriptive and observational adequacy.

Despite problems in the field of phonetics, the intelligibility of speech to native speakers became key, and rigorous steps were taken to give an accurate transcription of Hindi words and sentences. Grammarians such as Gilchrist took considerable pains to develop a system to record correct Hindi pronunciation. This system utilized diacritical marks to denote nonsignificant as well as significant phonetic features such as aspiration, deaspiration, retroflexion, voicing, degree of vowel length, and accentual or junctural features.

Although progress in the area of phonetics was relatively slow, some attempts were made to abstract the basic sound system of Hindi. The attempts of Ferguson and Gilchrist are noteworthy in this regard. Ferguson postulated a twenty vowel and thirty-six consonant system for Hindi. Gilchrist reduced this to forty-eight sounds.[88]

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[88] The distribution of the Hindi sound system posited by Gilchrist is follows: short vowels (4), long vowels (5), diphthongs (2), semivowels and nasals (7), palative sibilants (8), labials (7), gutterals (7), and dental palatives (8). Gilchrist, *Guide*, p. 3.

Although the grammars of the Gilchrist period did not engage in theoretical debates on linguistic theory and the philosophy of language, their introductory remarks on the Hindi language in general and natural languages in particular reveal a conception of linguistic theory. Once they dismissed the popular misconception of their time that vernaculars do not have grammar and may even lack parts of speech such as verbs, their theoretical conception of natural languages came remarkably close to modern linguistics. Hadley and others convinced their readers by demonstrating that all varieties of natural languages are rule-governed systems and thus have their own rules and grammars. This was their main contribution to linguistic theory and Hindi grammar. This conception of language in turn initiated a serious search for the grammatical system of Hindi rather than treating it as a variety lacking a linguistic system and thus unworthy of rule formulation. Although from their goal of abstracting "invariable rules" of the language it appears that their notion of linguistic rules was too strong and was nearly synonymous with linguistic "laws," in actual practice they did not subscribe to such a strong notion of linguistic rules and made room for exceptions.

From the perspective of linguistic theory, another contribution was their rejection of two other misconceptions, namely, that some languages are more basic than others and that it is inherently easier for a second-language learner to acquire the vulgar style of a language rather than the formal and colloquial style. They came strikingly close to modern theories of second-language acquisition when they pointed out the interference of the first language in the learning of a second.[89] They also dismissed the then current conception that learning a language was more or less synonymous with memorizing vocabulary and rightly stressed the acquisition of syntax and communicative competence.[90]

Some signs of pragmatics playing an important role in linguistic endeavors started to emerge during this era. Pragmatics began to influence especially the formulation of grammatical explanations. Consider, for example, the following explanation of the inability of first and second person pronouns to denote gender distinction in natural languages. "The pronouns of the first and second person do not admit any gender, because the persons denoted by them being present to one another have an opportunity of knowing each other's sex from dress and other circumstances. As the pronouns of the third person refer to an absent object, whose sex may be unknown, it admits of gender."[91] The role of pragmatics in the success or failure of communication was highlighted by several grammarians, including Gilchrist and Lebedeff.

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[89] Hadley remarks, "We shall conclude with recommending an attention to the manner in which the natives attempt to express themselves in English, as everyone who endeavors to speak a foreign language naturally adapts it to the idiom of his own." Hadley, op. cit., p. xv.

[90] Ibid., p. xv.

[91] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 14. Needless to say, the explanation is not adequate.

The discussion of their theoretical orientation would be incomplete if I failed to mention their admission of the notion of "elaborate" versus "concise" structure in their grammatical works. This distinction became especially apparent in the course of their treatment of relative clauses, participles, and causative verbs. Grammarians such as Hadley stressed that the Hindi participles represent a "concise method of speaking."[92] The concept of the "intelligibility of speech" was also introduced. They defined it with reference to the intuitions of native speakers about their language. Earlier grammarians had not made any attempt to take seriously into account the intuitions of native speakers about their language. On the contrary, when their linguistic observations did not agree with the linguistic behavior of native speakers, rather than reexamining their observations they held the native speakers responsible for the deviancy of their speech. However, during the Gilchrist era native speech received long overdue attention and native judgments were considered a test for the adequacy of linguistic formulations. Finally, the grammarians' shift in favor of a secular model of language was a landmark theoretical contribution to Hindi grammar.

The grammars supersede the works of the previous era in their significance for historical, sociolinguistic, and applied linguistic research. The rare sociolinguistic and linguistic information provided by them has gone unutilized in linguistic research on Hindi. Their accounts of the religious dialects of Hindi have gone largely unnoticed by Hindi sociolinguists who have paid mere lip service to such sociolinguistic variations and have focused their attention on geographical dialects alone. Invaluable information on Hindi for special purposes—military Hindi and the emergence of pidgin Hindi—has to date gone unobserved in grammatical and linguistic research.

The grammars of Gilchrist and Shakespear go far beyond meeting the requirements of teaching Hindi as a second language, even by modern pedagogical standards. The pedagogical strategies adopted and debates initiated by them anticipate advances made in the pedagogy of Hindi as a second language in the twentieth century.

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[92] Hadley, op. cit., p. 14.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# THE EVE OF THE KELLOGG ERA (1821-1875)

### 4.1 Background

A series of arguments over the fate and operation of Fort William College forced Gilchrist to resign and return to England in 1804.[1] With his departure the College's reign over Hindi grammar and text production came to an end. His departure also called for changes within the tradition and signaled new developments in government patronage and language policies for Hindi.

On the eve of the Kellogg era, the British government announced two important changes in its language policy. These changes are generally viewed negatively in the history of the Hindi language. First, in 1835, the government set out to promote the spread of Western education through English with the announcement of Lord Macaulay, "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes and opinions, in morals, in intellect."[2] What this announcement meant in practical terms was that the government substantially reduced public funds for printing in Indian languages.[3] This marked a radical departure from the policy which had led to the establishment of Fort William College. Second, two years after the above announcement, the government decided to shift from Persian to Urdu as the official language of tax and revenue offices in the Northwest Provinces.[4] Although from a linguistic viewpoint the latter change was not as harmful as the shift toward English, from the strictly prescriptive view, it was a linguistic catastrophe, because it laid the foundation for a separatist movement within Hindi that considered two styles of the language—Hindi and Urdu—as two different languages. These separatist tendencies did not begin with the government decision. Many Hindi scholars hold Gilchrist and the Fort William College responsible for sowing the seeds of the Hindi-Urdu controversy.[5] What the exact role and underlying intention of Gilchrist and his colleagues were with regard to Hindi and Urdu is a subject of dispute. However, there is little doubt among Hindi scholars that the change in government policy transformed the Hindi-Urdu style controversy into a full-blown language controversy. But in spite of a lack of government patronage and scholarly leadership, Hindi grammatical scholarship did not come to a halt. The momentum gained during the Gilchrist era took a new turn and the setback suffered by Hindi was compensated for by an increase in volunteer activities.

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[1] Although in his letter of resignation Gilchrist requests to be relieved on account of his deteriorating health, he had a number of serious disagreements with the governing body over a variety of subjects, academic and nonacademic in nature. For the details of these issues, see Kidwai, reference cited in the previous chapter.

[2] H. Sharp (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, 1781-1879, Calcutta, 1920, p. 116.

[3] "His Lordship in Council is of the opinion that . . . all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." Ibid., p. 130.

[4] A government announcement on 29 July 1836 declared that Hindi in the Devanāgarī letters would be admitted along with Persian as a language of law. However, this decision was changed a year later in favor of the Perso-Arabic alphabet. For the actual Devanāgarī text of this announcement see Rām Chandra Shukla, *Hindī sāhitaya kā itihās*, Kāshī, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, 1929 [15th edition 1965], p. 408.

### 4.1.1 *Voluntary Organizations and Hindi*

To fill the gap caused by the decline in government patronage, several volunteer organizations (missionary, educational, and literary organizations) gained vigor in their support of Hindi. One such noteworthy organization was the Serampore Mission, which had been involved with language study and translation from its beginning, both independently and in association with Fort William College. This mission now began to play a more active role. By 1811, the New Testament had been translated into Hindi and was printed under the direction of William Carey. Reprintings and other translations followed throughout the century. Mission stations were established early on in the North, and printing presses eventually appeared in North Indian cities such as Ludhiana (1836), Allahabad (1838), and Agra (1840). In the subsequent decades, Serampore and other printing presses in Calcutta published most of the Hindi material, replacing Fort William College and government publications.

Among the educational organizations, the earliest efforts to produce material in Hindi and other Indian languages was carried out by the School Book Society of Calcutta, founded in 1817. Important gains in the production of Hindi language material were made with the emergence of the School Book Society of Agra in 1837. Soon after its inception this society began to print books in Hindi. The period up to and following the Vernacular Education Act of 1854 saw the appearance of much instructional material in Hindi.[6] It was from the early 1840s that such material began to appear in quantity, the great bulk of publication coming at first from Agra, with an increasing amount from Banaras in the 1850s.[7]

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[5] See Ibid., p. 393. Also, Lakshamīsāgar Vārshṇeya, *Ādhunika hindī sāhitya*, Allahabad, Allahabad University, 1941 [1971 edition], p. 33; Chaudharī, *HVI*, p. 169; Jādhava, *HBSIMY*, p. 47; Shrīvāstava, *HKYV*, pp. 50 and 57-60, for the summary of the views of Hindi scholars on the topic.

[6] The act stated, "The medium of education is to be the vernacular languages of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are advertised for and liberally rewarded by the government as a means of enriching Vernacular

This renewed interest in the development of Hindi led to the emergence of social and religious reforms societies in North India. These societies drew from all segments of educated society. The Tatvabodhinī Sabhā of Bareily and the Banaras Debating Club, later the Banaras Institute, were important organizations involved in the development of Hindi. The new mood reflected by these organizations was further highlighted by the activities of Ārya Samāj in the 1870s. The successful use of Sanskritized Hindi by the Samāj led to the greater recognition of the use of Hindi and the Devanāgarī script at the pan-Indian level.[8]

### 4.1.2 *The Emergence of the Three Schools of Hindi Style*

In addition to volunteer organizations, educationists such as Shivprasād Sitār-e-Hind (1823-95) played an important role in the development of Hindi during this era. His interest in Hindi was a practical one; he saw the use of the Devanāgarī script as an important step in the propagation of Hindi. He took a nonpurist position and advocated the use of Perso-Arabic elements in Hindi. Although this position has been much criticized by Hindi scholars, his role in the promotion of Hindi cannot be underestimated. Rājā Shivprasād's contemporary Rājā Lakshaman Singh (1826-96) was another notable force behind the development and promotion of Hindi. In contrast to Shivprasād's nonpurist attitude, Rājā Lakshaman Singh was a strong supporter of the Sanskritized style of the language and was opposed to Shivprasād's inclusion of Persian and Arabic vocabulary in Hindi. The romantic novels of Devakīnandan Khatrī gave rise to yet another style, the day-to-day colloquial Hindi, termed "ṭheṭh Hindī" in Hindi literature. The writings of these three authors became representative of three distinct schools of Hindi style—the Perso-Arabic, high Sanskritized, and ṭheṭh Hindi styles. In spite of their serious disagreement over particular styles, these authors kept the question of Hindi alive and generated a great deal of enthusiasm for Hindi. Such an enthusiasm gave vital impetus to

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Literature. While, therefore, the vernacular languages are on no account to be neglected, the English language may be taught where there is a demand for it, but the English language is not to be substituted for the vernacular dialects of the country." Shārdādevī Vedālankār, *The Development of Hindi Prose Literature in the Early Nineteenth Century (1800-1856 AD)*, Allahabad, Lokbharti Publications, 1969, p. 164.

[7] From 1840 to 1860 the number of Hindi books published in North Indian cities doubled the number published in Calcutta, see McGregor, *HL*, fn. 6, p. 70.

[8] For further details on the role of voluntary organizations in the development of Hindi, see Shukla, op. cit., p. 403; Vārshṇeya, op. cit., p. 41; Vedālankār, op. cit., Chapter III, pp. 77-121; Jādhava, *HBSIMY*, pp. 64-69; Shrīvāstava, *HKYV*, pp. 294-295; McGregor, *HL*, pp. 69-70.

original writings, translations, and compilations in Hindi. Consequently, there was a dramatic upsurge of Hindi readers, manuals, dictionaries, and texts in spite of the absence of government support.

## 4.2 *Grammarians and their Grammars*

On the eve of the Kellogg era Hindi grammar experienced several ups and downs. In spite of this upheaval, more grammars were written in this period than in any previous one. The three principal grammarians of the era were Sir Monier Williams, Pandit Shrīlāl, and John Platts. Other noteworthy scholars were Mohammad Ibrahim Magbah, Rev. Adam, William Price, Rev. W. Yates, Sanford Arnot, William Andrew, Garcin de Tassy, James Ballantyne, Duncan Forbes, F. Eastwick, Alexander Fockner, J. Dawson, Rev. Ethrington, and Pandit Hargopāl.

### 4.2.1 *First-Language Grammars*

#### 4.2.1.1 Rev. Adam, *Hindī bhāshā kā vyākaraṇa* (1827)

If one has to single out the most widely circulating grammar of Hindi during the nineteenth century, the first work that comes to mind is Rev. Adam's grammar.[9] The underlying reasons for its widespread popularity were: One, it was the first grammar of Hindi written by a European in the Devanāgarī script. Two, it was the first grammar by a non-Indian written for school and college learners of Hindi as a first language. Three, it was written in an easy style, using a question and answer format. The popularity of this grammar for an Indian audience is evident from the fact that the distinguished Hindi grammarian Guru took special notice of it in his preface to his own work. According to him, this grammar had been the most popular work in Indian schools for several years.[10] In spite of this popularity, the grammar has now become rare. As a result of its inaccessibility, historians of Hindi grammar have been handicapped and unable to provide details about it.[11] In the light of its historical importance, antiquity, and rarity, it is crucial for me to describe the copy of this grammar in my possession in detail here. The title page is given in Figure 6.

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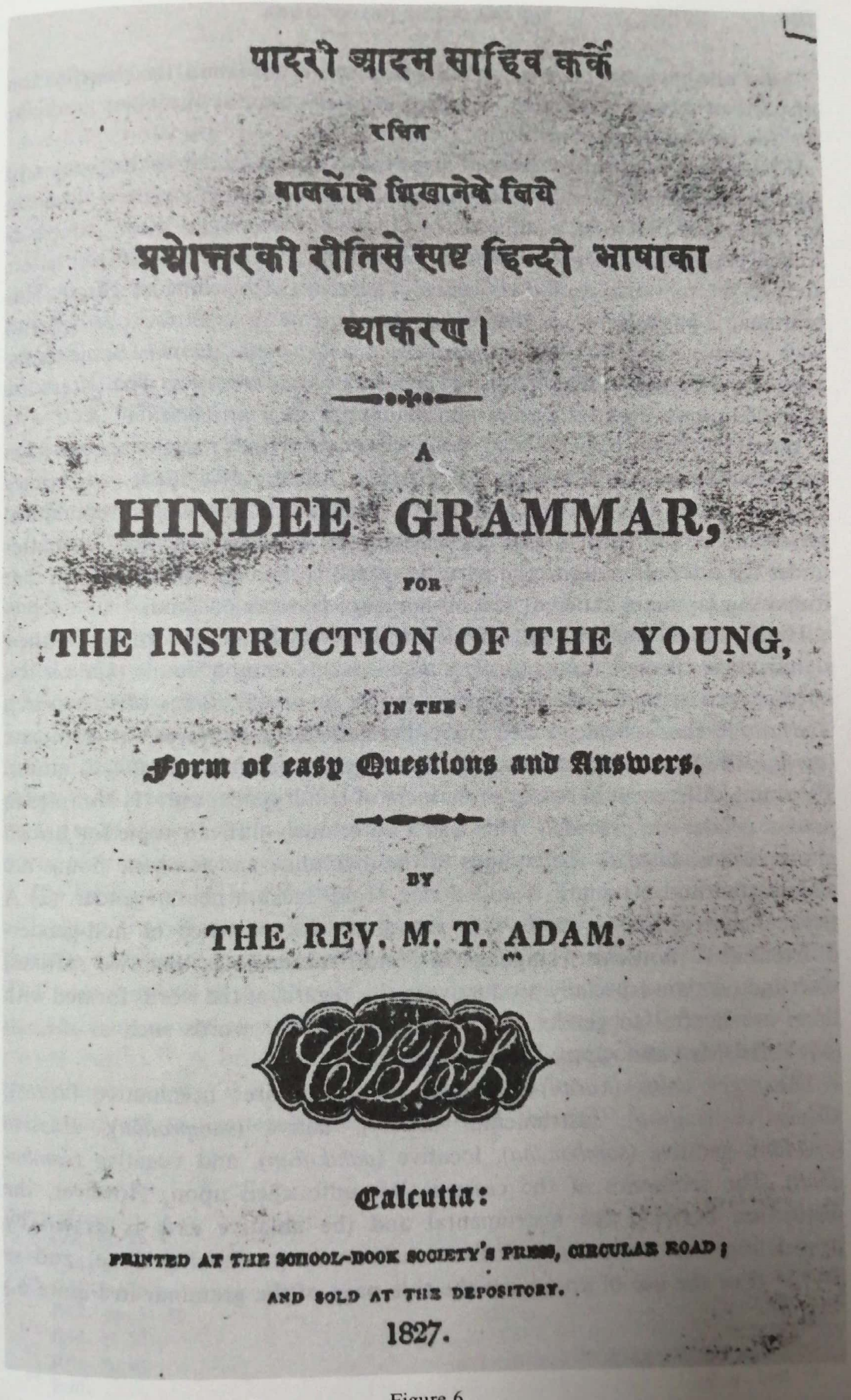
[9] The work is titled in Hindi as well as in English. Rev. M.T. Adam, *Hindī bhāshā kā vyākaraṇa; A Hindee Grammar for the instruction to the young in the form of easy questions and answers*, Calcutta, School Book Society's Press, 1827.

[10] Guru, *HV*, p. 5.

[11] Chaudharī remarks, "This grammar has a unique place in the history of Hindi grammar. Unfortunately, this grammar has become a rare piece of work in this country [i.e., India]. Therefore, it is not possible to give a detailed account of this grammar." *HVI*, p. 227. Probably for the same reason Jādhava gives only a two-line description of it and that too is inaccurate, *HBSIMY*, p. 157.



पादरी आदम साहिब कर्के

रचित

बालकोंके सिखानेके लिये

प्रश्नोत्तरकी रीतिसे स्पष्ट हिन्दी भाषाका

व्याकरण।

A

# HINDEE GRAMMAR,

FOR

THE INSTRUCTION OF THE YOUNG,

IN THE

Form of easy Questions and Answers.

BY

THE REV. M. T. ADAM.

Calcutta:

PRINTED AT THE SCHOOL-BOOK SOCIETY'S PRESS, CIRCULAR ROAD;

AND SOLD AT THE DEPOSITORY.

1827.

Figure 6

Since the grammar is addressed to native learners of Hindi, the classification of parts of speech is focused on more rigorously than in any other grammar written by Europeans thus far.

Rev. Adam's treatment of script attempts to introduce the writing system of the Devanāgarī script and a phonetic-based classification of its letters. In order to achieve the first goal, a complete inventory of Devanāgarī letters, simple as well as conjunct, is presented. Earlier descriptions of the scripts left out letters such as *lri*, *lrī* because of their insignificance in the teaching of Hindi. This grammar is an exception in this regard, introducing these letters together with such technical terms as *anunāsik*, *sānunāsik*, *candra bindu*, *anusvār*. Some terms, such as *phalā* and *suddhā̃* letters, have now become obsolete. The letters are classified according to the point and manner of their articulation.

Bearing in mind his audience, Adam deals with Hindi parts of speech from the point of view of first-language learners. An objective reader sometimes gets the impression that the grammar is oriented more toward grammatical terms and jargon than toward the teaching of language. The subject matter under the titles referring to the parts of speech is radically different from that found in grammars aimed at second-language learners of Hindi.

Hindi nouns (*saṅgyā*) are divided into four classes according to their signification: Proper nouns (*prakrit nāmvācak*), common nouns (*jāti vācak*), abstract nouns (*bhāv vācak*), and gerundive or verbal nouns (*kriyā vācak*). They are further subcategorized into either animate (*prāṇī vācak*) or inanimate (*aprāṇī vācak*) nouns and masculine (*pulliṅga*) or feminine (*strīliṅga*) nouns. Two main differences in Adam's treatment of Hindi gender are: (1) No rules to predict gender are provided. This was a notoriously difficult topic for British grammarians. Instead, the endings of the masculine and feminine nouns are enumerated and a remark is added that Hindi lacks a neuter gender. (2) A unique observation is made with regard to the existence of non-gender-differentiated (nonsexist) language in Hindi. Adam notes that two suffixes, *-mat* and *-vat*, are especially productive in this regard, as the words formed with them are neutral to gender. For example, consider words such as *shrīmat* (Mr./Mrs./Ms.) and *rūpvat* (handsome/beautiful).[12]

The eight cases (*kārak*) identified for Hindi are: nominative (*kartā*), accusative (*karma*), instrumental (*karaṇ*), dative (*sampradān*), ablative (*apādān*), genitive (*sambandha*), locative (*adhikaraṇ*), and vocative (*sambodhan*). The semantics of the cases is left untouched upon. However, the distinction between the instrumental and the ablative case is drawn by postulating two mutually exclusive markers: *karke* (having done) and *se* (by).[13] (For the use of *karke*, see the title page of the grammar in Figure 6.)

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[12] Adam, op. cit., p. 13.

[13] Ibid., p. 9.

The pronouns (*sarvanām*) are grouped into six classes: personal (*nām vācak*), relative (*sambandha vācak*), definite (*nishcaya vācak*), indefinite (*anishcaya vācak*), honorific (*adhikār aur gaurav sahit*) and interrogative (*prashna vācak*). The category of the honorific pronoun is motivated by the existence of the honorific person pronoun, *āp* (you), and the reflexive pronoun, *apne āp* (self).[14]

The verbs (*kriyā*) are of four types: intransitives (*akarmak*), transitives (*sakarmak*), causatives (*preraṇārthak*), and passives (*karmaṇi vācya*).[15] Moods (*niyam*) are five: indicative (*svārtha*), imperative (*anumatyārtha*), potential (*shaktyārtha*), future imperative (*āshansārtha*), and infinitive (*bhāv mātra vācak*).[16] Rev. Adam postulates six tenses (*kāl*): present (*vartamān*), *jātā hū̃* (I go); past indefinite (*apūrṇa bhūt*), *jātā thā* (used to go); proximate past (*addyatan bhūt*), *gayā hai* (has gone); remote past (*anaddyatan bhūt*), *gayā thā* (had gone); future (*bhavishyat*), *jāū̃gā* (will go); and future past (*bhavishyat bhūt*), *jā cukū̃gā* (would have gone).[17]

The term *asmāpikā kriyā* is employed to denote participles, which indicates that Adam had another classification of verbs in mind: *samāpikā kriyā* (verb) and *asmāpikā kriyā* (participle). There are four participles: *kriyā visheshaṇ*, *vartamān*, *bhūt*, and *sā̃gyika kriyā*. From the examples given, it is clear that the terms are used in the sense of past conjunctive participles, present participles, past participles, and gerundives, respectively. The use of the Hindi term *kriyā vesheshaṇ* to denote conjunctive participles deviates from the Indian grammatical tradition and Adam's Hindi examples, such as *jākarkar* (having gone), suffer from overgeneralizations. Afterwards, some passing remarks are made on the semantics of compound verbs, and it is noted that compound verbs can occur with causative verbs. However, this tendency is infrequent in Hindi.[18]

The treatment of morphology is minimal and hopelessly confusing. The affixes are divided into prefixes (*upsarga*) and suffixes (*parvartī*). Adam claims that the number of prefixes is only twenty, and he provides a list of them.[19] The term *parvartī* is used in an idiosyncratic and broad manner to denote postpositions as well as suffixes as exemplified by *sāth* (with), *nīce* (below) and *pūrvak* (with).[20] A brief outline of *samās* (word compounding) and *sandhi* (morphophonemics) is also provided. The discussion of syntax is superficial and restricted to scattered comments about the SOV word order of the language. Another remark made in this context is that if a sentence is complex, the focused element precedes the unfocused element.[21]

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[14] Ibid., p. 15.
[15] Ibid., p. 25.
[16] Ibid., p. 26.
[17] Ibid., pp. 31-32.
[18] Ibid., p. 30.
[19] Ibid., p. 49.
[20] Ibid.

The only previously existing description of Adam's grammar, by Shrīvāstava, raises some speculations about the authenticity of the version in his possession and in ours. Although Shrīvāstava does not mention the date of his version, it is reasonable to assume, on the basis of the reference given, that he also had the 1827 edition in his possession. From his meager description, it appears that the major difference between his version and ours lies in the presentation of data. The data given by Shrīvāstava exhibit some important differences from the data given in our version. Because of a lack of information about Shrīvāstava's version it is not possible to answer conclusively the question of authenticity. However, unless it is proved that our version is inauthentic, what seems to be the most plausible reason for the variation is either editing by Shrīvāstava or not enough care in the presentation of data.[22]

Adam's grammar is one of the most misunderstood grammars of Hindi. Historians of Hindi grammar have wrongly charged that the grammar was modeled after English[23] and that the grammatical terminology was borrowed from Bengali.[24] But in fact, the grammar is oriented more toward Sanskrit in terms of its terminology and treatment than to either English or Bengali.

As pointed out above, the grammar is also unique in terms of its format; it is written in a question and answer style. For example, Question: *asamāpikā kriyā kisko kahte hãĩ*? Answer: *jo kriyā samāpikā kriyā kī cāhanā karai, usīko asamāpikā kriyā kahate hãĩ.*[25] The spelling system of the grammar also deserves attention. Whenever the schwa syncope rule applies in a word, it is omitted from the spelling. Consequently, spelling distinctions between such words as *kartā* (agent) and *kartā* (does) are neutralized and both are written as कर्त्ता.

Being the first grammar written in Hindi by a nonnative speaker, Adam's work naturally has gaps and significant omissions. No mention is made of the simple past tense, for example. The grammatical terms are used in an idiosyncratic and ambiguous way and suffer from equivocation. The Hindi style adopted in the grammar is simple yet often lacks clarity.

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[21] Ibid., p. 51.

[22] Consider this difference between our version and Shrīvāstava's. According to our version, the instrumental, dative and ablative forms of the noun *child* are *bālakkarke*, *bālakko* and *bālakse*, respectively; whereas Shrīvāstava cites *bālak kaka*, *bālakan ko*, and *bālak se* as the corresponding forms. *HKYV*, p. 218.

[23] Guru, *HV*, p. 5.

[24] Jādhava, *HBSIMY*, p. 157.

[25] Adam, op. cit., p. 34.

### 4.2.1.2 Pandit Shrīlāl, *Bhāshā-candrodaya* (1855)

Approximately one and a half centuries after the first grammar by Ketelaar Indian scholars began to repay their long overdue debt to Hindi grammar. This began with the independent grammatical treatise of Pandit Shrīlāl, who described and studied Hindi grammar strictly within the framework of an Indian paradigm, Sanskrit grammar.[26] Shrīlāl's grammar deviates from the direct observation method of its European counterparts and aims at accounting for the intuitions of native speakers about the language.

The Devanāgarī script receives extensive treatment and the scope of the topic is extended to make room for some phonological processes in Hindi grammar. A complete description of all the main Devanāgarī letters, their combinatory patterns, a phonetic description, and a classification of the letters are provided. The phonological processes of quantitative (*vriddhi*) and qualitative (*guṇa*) lengthening are outlined with reference to Sanskrit loan words in Hindi. Shrīlāl also discusses sequential constraints and notes that there is a restriction on two identical aspirated consonants occurring together. Consequently, words such as *rakhakhā* and *acḥchā* are realized as *rakkhā* (kept) and *acchā* (good), respectively.[27] In the context of the *hal* sign (ˋ), the existence of the schwa syncope rule is recognized and discrepancies between spellings and pronunciation are noted. The *hal* sign is not used when schwa is dropped at the end of a word, otherwise it is used (cf. इस and इस्का).[28] Comparing the sound system of Hindi and Sanskrit, Shrīlāl notes that Hindi has a set of ten vowels; the vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] have diphthongal pronunciation in Sanskrit.[29]

The word (*shabda*) is divided into meaningful (*vācak*) and nonmeaningful (*apashabda*) categories. The meaningful words are further grouped into three classes: noun (*saṅgyā), bound word (saṅket varṇa*), and verb (*kriyā*). The description of the noun differs from that of all earlier descriptions because Shrīlāl views the notion of noun in the widest possible sense and treats the adjectives, adverbs, and pronouns as a subset of nouns. The adjectives and adverbs constitute attributive nouns (*guṇ vācak*), and pronouns are *saṅgyā pratinidhi* (literally, noun representatives). Furthermore, he says that the difference between the class of proper and common nouns is not absolute. Pragmatic conditions can neutralize the difference between the two classes.[30]

The main difference between Adam's and Shrīlāl's classification of pronouns is that Shrīlāl reduces the number of main classes to five instead of six. He does not see honorific pronouns as an independent class but as a subclass of personal pronouns.[31] The treatment of gender and the case system is similar to that of Adam.

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[26] Pandit Shrīlāl, *Bhāshā-candrodaya*, Agra, 1855 [2nd edition].

[27] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[28] Ibid., p. 12.

[29] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[30] Proper names such as Devadatta and Yagyadatta cease to function like proper nouns when more than one person with those names is present. Similarly, if a common noun such as *horse* is modified with an adjective *black*, it can function as a proper noun in a specific context. Ibid., p. 15.

By the term "bound" word, Shrīlāl means case markers (*vibhakti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*).[32] They are treated as bound words because they cannot occur independently and are meaningful only when they are used in conjunction with other nouns or morphemes.

The description of verbs begins by introducing the notion of root (*dhātu*), which has two types: verbal roots (*siddha dhātu*) and onomatopoeic roots (*anukaraṇamūlak dhātu*).[33] The root, obtained by deleting the infinitive marker *nā*, is the base system for deriving various tense forms. The main tenses are three—present, past, and future. Two moods—imperative and presumptive—together with six subtypes of the past tense bring the total to ten. Consider Shrīlāl's classification of the past tense: (1) conditional (*hetuhetumadbhūt*), (2) past imperfect (*apūrṇa bhūt*), (3) simple past (*sāmānya bhūt*), (4) past perfect (*pūrṇa bhūt*), (5) present perfect (*āsanna bhūt*), and (6) past presumptive (*sandigdha bhūt*).[34]

Participles are viewed as nouns derived from verbs. In accordance with his broad definition of noun, the grammarian notes that a root not only participates in the derivation of verbs but also generates the four types of nouns—agentive (*kartrivācak*), *khelnevālā* (player); objective (*karma vācak*), *mārā huā* (killed/beaten); impersonal (*bhāv vācak*), *mārpīṭ* (beating); and action-denoting (*kriyādyotak*), *mārtā huā* (beating).[35] The past conjunctive (absolutive) participle is discussed separately under the discussion of the tenses.

With regard to the use of *ne* and the passive, Shrīlāl is rather vague. He distinguishes between two types of agents, primary (*pradhān kartā*) and secondary (*apradhān kartā*), to account for agents without *ne* and with *ne*, respectively.[36] The *ne*-less agents are considered to be primary because of their ability to control verb agreement, whereas the *ne*-agents are perceived as secondary because of their lack of control over agreement (in such cases the verb agrees with an object instead). In order to convey the difference between active and passive sentences, Shrīlāl admits two types of verbs: *kartripradhān kriyā* and *karmapradhān kriyā*,[37] which are synonymous with active and passive voice, respectively. The grammarian fails to go into details about the correlations between primary agents and active verbs on the one hand, and between secondary agents and passive verbs on the other. It seems that his classification of active and passive verbs is influenced by English grammar.

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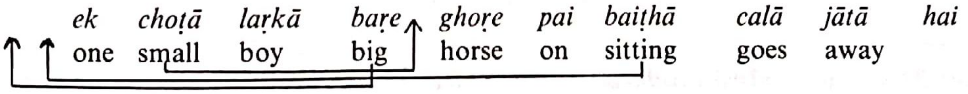
[31] Ibid., p. 37.
[32] Ibid., p. 13.
[33] Ibid., p. 44.
[34] Ibid., pp. 47-48.
[35] Ibid., p. 69.
[36] Ibid., p. 43.
[37] Ibid., p. 65.

The most interesting aspect of his grammar is the treatment of syntax. For the first time, it is observed that grammatical correctness is not a sufficient criterion for the acceptability of a sentence. The dichotomy between grammaticality and acceptability motivates him to distinguish between two types of sentence—contiguous sentences (*sambadha vākya*) and distorted sentences (*asambadha vākya*). An example of the latter type is *baniyā basūle se kapṛe ko sīctā hai* (The merchant irrigates the cloth with Basula). Although the sentence is syntactically well formed, it is unacceptable on semantic grounds. A sentence must meet the condition of selectional restrictions in addition to the condition of grammatical correctness in order to be acceptable. Since the *sambadha vākya* satisfy both conditions, they qualify as correct sentences.[38]

Shrīlāl also introduces the notion of "detached/displaced" sentences (*dūrānvayī vākya*). In these sentences, modifiers lose their immediate contiguity with the nouns they modify and are detached from their original position. Consider his sentence *baṛe baiṭhā ek laṛkā choṭā ghoṛe pai calā jatā hai* (a small boy is riding [while] seated on a big horse). The underlying undetached representation of the above sentence is given in Figure 7 and the direction of the displacements of the modifiers is shown with arrows. Notice that in this sentence three modifiers have been displaced from their original position. According to Shrīlāl, although these sentences are neither ungrammatical nor unacceptable they are intricate and complex (*klishṭa*).[39]



| *ek* | *choṭā* | *laṛkā* | *baṛe* | *ghoṛe* | *pai* | *baiṭhā* | *calā* | *jātā* | *hai* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| one | small | boy | big | horse | on | sitting | goes | away | |

Figure 7

Shrīlāl's grammar represents an important turning point in the history of Hindi grammar. It marked the beginning of the participation of Indian scholars and introduced the indigenous paradigm into the study of Hindi grammar. The insights of Sanskrit grammar started a new phase of comparative-contrastive (Sanskrit-Hindi) grammar. This resulted in a new look at the language, and noticeable progress was made in the area of Hindi phonetics, phonology, and syntax. Shrīlāl's grammar introduced another choice of model—the Sanskrit model—for Hindi. New insights together with new classifications and grammatical terms stepped into the tradition. These new terms reflected in part the growing needs of Hindi grammar and the desire on the part of Hindi grammarians to introduce originality in their grammatical treatment of the language.

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[38] Ibid., pp. 75-76.
[39] Ibid., p. 74.

### 4.2.1.3 Rev. Ethrington, *Bhāshā-bhāskar* (1871)

Although Shrīlāl's grammar was followed by the works of several other Indian grammarians such as Pandit Rāmjasan,[40] Navīn Chandra Rāi,[41] and Shītal Prasād Gupta,[42] none of these works showed any significant improvement over Shrīlāl's work or exhibited any other notable linguistic or nonlinguistic property. They were primarily summaries of Shrīlāl's work with some scattered minor differences in grammatical terminology. But the grammar of Rev. Ethrington had an extraordinary impact in a number of ways.[43] It surpassed any other work written in Hindi by a European thus far.

In 1870, Rev. Ethrington wrote his first grammar in English.[44] The grammar made such an impression on the then D.P.I. of the Northwestern Provinces that he wrote a flattering review and recommended it for a government award. In response to the recommendation, the Lt. Governor suggested that the book should be translated into Hindi. Thus *Bhāshā-bhāskar* appeared in Hindi one year after the English version. The grammar has the distinct honor of being the only Hindi grammar to be given an award by the British government.

*Bhāshā-bhāskar* is not a direct Hindi translation of the original English version. As shown in Figure 8, it has been modified, enlarged, and reorganized, keeping in mind the needs of first-language learners.[45] The grammar exemplifies the emerging close cooperation and collaboration between native and nonnative grammarians of Hindi.[46] Prior to Ethrington, there were little or no signs of cooperation between Indian and foreign grammarians of Hindi.

The format that is rigorously followed in the work is as follows: First, grammatical categories are introduced and defined; second, their subclassifica-

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[40] Pandit Rāmjasan, *Bhāshātatvabodhinī, arthāt hindī bhāshā kā vyākaraṇa*, Banaras, Normal College, 1858.

[41] Navīn Chandra Rāi, *Navīn candrodaya*, Lahore, Punjab Economical Press, 1868.

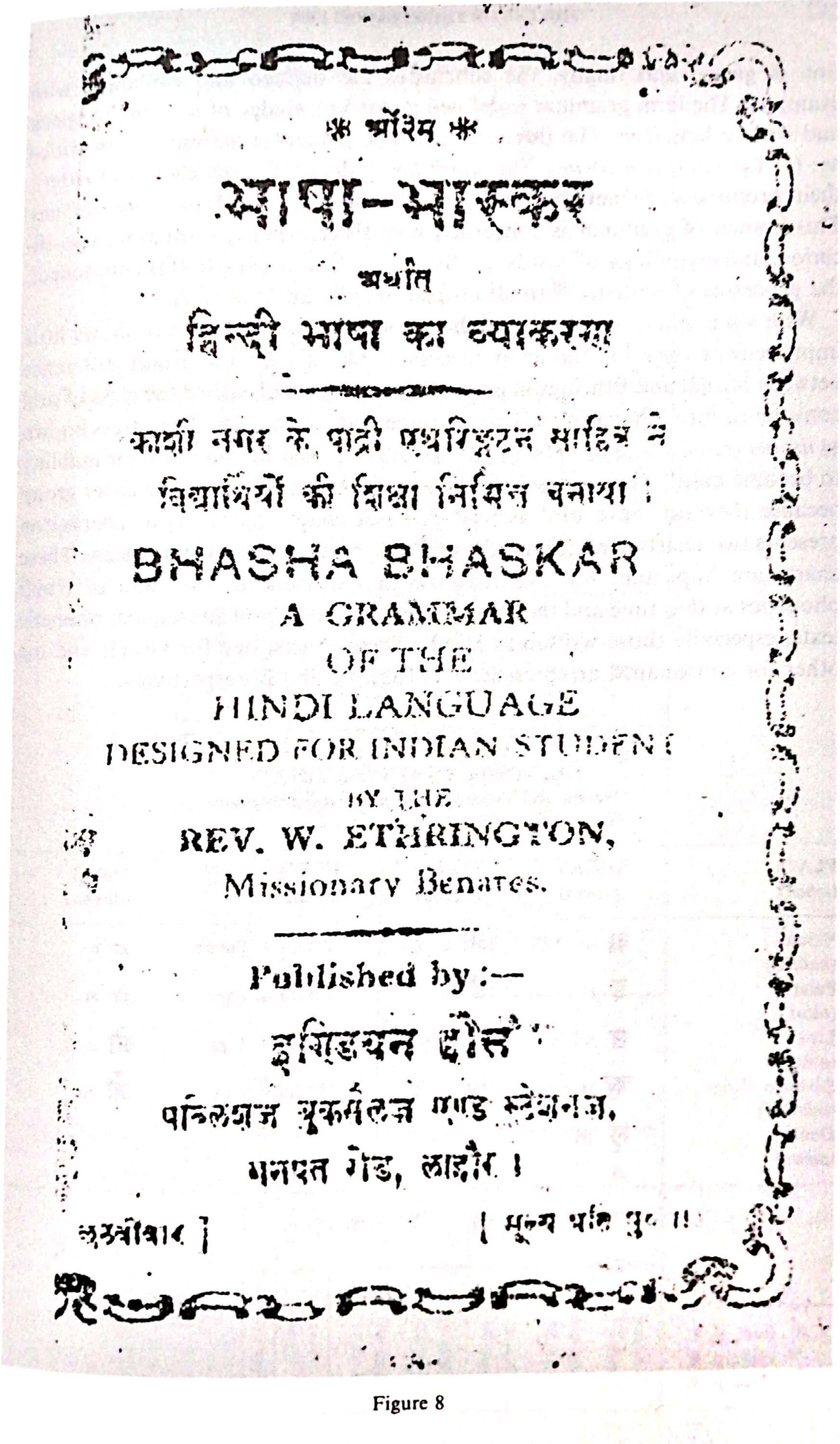
[42] Shītal Prasād Gupta, *Shabdaprakāshikā*, Lucknow, Munshi Naval Kishore Press, 1870.

[43] Rev. W. Ethrington, *Bhāshā-bhāskar, arthāt hindī bhāshā kā vyākaraṇa* (A grammar of the Hindi language designed for Indian students), Lahore, Indian House, 1871.

[44] Rev. W. Ethrington, *Students' Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Banaras: Medical Hall College, 1870.

[45] "Being designed for native youth, it is not a mere translation of the 'Students Hindi Grammar.' In the following pages the reader will find much that is new, as regards both matter and arrangement, in every chapter." Ethrington, 1871, op. cit., Preface, p. 1.

[46] The grammarian writes in his preface, "I have consulted the works of Shakespear, Forbes, and Sir Monier Williams and have derived some aid from them. . . . I have also read the *Bhāshā-candrodaya* and the Sandhi in the *Vyākaraṇa kī upkramanikā* from which a few of my examples are taken. . . . I am most of all indebted to the suggestions of the late Rev. John Parson, Missionary at Monghir, perhaps the most accomplished Hindi scholar that has yet appeared among Europeans……… the latter part of the syntax was with him when he died. ……… Pandit Rāmjasan also, the dead Sanskrit and Hindi teacher, Queen's College, Benaras, read with me nearly all the examples in the syntax and approved of them. . . . I am, in a great measure, indebted to the advice and suggestions of the accomplished Pandit Vishnu Dutta, who prepared the greater part of the last chapter and revised the entire book with me." Ibid., pp. 5-6.



* ओ३म् *

भाषा-भास्कर

अर्थात्

हिन्दी भाषा का व्याकरण

काशी नगर के पादरी एथरिङ्टन साहिब ने
विद्यार्थियों की शिक्षा निमित्त बनाया ।

BHASHA BHASKAR
A GRAMMAR
OF THE
HINDI LANGUAGE
DESIGNED FOR INDIAN STUDENT
BY THE
REV. W. ETHRINGTON,
Missionary Benares.

Published by :—

इण्डियन हौस

पब्लिशर्ज़ बुकसेलर्ज़ एण्ड स्टेशनर्ज़,
गनपत रोड, लाहौर ।

सर्वाधिकार ] [ मूल्य प्रति पु॰ ॥

Figure 8

tion is given; and finally, the subclasses are defined and explained with examples. The term grammar is defined as the knowledge of learning to speak and write a language. The three main components of grammar are identified as: (1) Letters (*varṇa vicār*). This component deals with the shapes of letters, their pronunciation and combinatory patterns. (2) Words (*shabda sādhan*). This branch of grammar is concerned with three aspects, formation, classification, and etymology of words. (3) Syntax (*vākya vinyās*). In this component, the processes of sentence formation from words are dealt with.[47]

With some minor differences, Ethrington's treatment of letters shows little improvement over his Indian predecessor, Shrīlāl. An important difference between Shrīlāl and Ethrington is that Ethrington subclassified the class of oral consonants into inherently oral and surface oral consonants. The letters known as *ūshma* (*r*, *sh*, *s*, *ṣ*, and *h*) belong to the former class because of their inability to become nasal, whereas the rest of the consonants belong to the latter group because they can have oral as well as nasal counterparts. Also, Ethrington presents two charts dealing with the phonetic basis of Devanāgarī letters. These charts are important for two reasons: they summarize the state of Hindi phonetics at that time and they became an integral part of subsequent phonetic texts, especially those written in Hindi. These charts, one for vowels and the other for consonants, are presented in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

*TABLE 1*

THE VOWEL CHART (*svar cakra*)[48]

Height and Voicing (*vivrit aur ghosh prayatna*)

| PLACE (*sthān*) | SHORT (*hrasva*) | LONG (*dīrgha*) | PLACE (*sthān*) | LONG (*dīrgha*) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Velum (*kaṅṭha*) | अ a | आ ā | Velum + Palate | ए e |
| Palate (*tālu*) | इ i | ई ī | Velum + Palate | ऐ ai |
| Lips (*oshṭha*) | उ u | ऊ ū | Velum + Lips | ओ o |
| Alveolar Ridge (*mūrdhā*) | ऋ ri | ॠ rī | Velum + Lips | औ au |
| Dental (*danta*) | ऌ lri | ॡ lrī | | |

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[47] Ibid., p. 1.

[48] Ibid., p. 8.

[49] Ibid., p. 9.

### *TABLE 2*

### THE CONSONANT CHART (*vyañjan cakra*)[49]

| Manner | Unvoiced (aghosh) | | Voiced (*ghosh*) | | | | | *Unvoiced* (aghosh) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Class (*varga*) | Unaspirate (*alpa prāṇ*) | Aspirate (*mahā prāṇ*) | Unaspirate (*alpa prāṇ*) | Aspirate (*mahā prāṇ*) | Unaspirate Nasal | Unaspirate *antastha* | Aspirate *ūshma* | Aspirate *ūshma* | Place |
| *ka-varga* (*k*-series) | क k | ख kh | ग g | घ gh | ङ ṅ | | ह h | | Velum |
| *ca-varga* (*c*-series) | च c | छ ch | ज j | झ jh | ञ ñ | य y | | श sh | Palate |
| *ṭa-varga* (*ṭ*-series) | ट ṭ | ठ ṭh | ड ḍ | ढ ḍh | ण ṇ | र r | | ष sh | Alveolar Ridge |
| ta-varga (*t*-series) | त t | थ th | द d | ध dh | न n | ल l | | स s | Dental |
| *pa-varga* (*p*-series) | प p | फ ph | ब b | भ bh | म m | व v | | | Lips |

The influence of Shrīlāl is quite apparent on Ethrington's treatment of *shabda* (word). Like Shrīlāl, Ethrington subscribes to the existence of three classes of Hindi words. Moreover, his discussion of two of the classes, nouns and indeclinables, is not significantly different from that of Shrīlāl except in the selection of the grammatical terms and in their different approaches because of their different audiences.[50] With regard to the second point, the difference between the two grammarians is rather strong. An example is their analyses of the Hindi noun. From the viewpoint of first-language learners Shrīlāl does not attach any importance to the problem of gender. Ethrington, however, devotes as much attention to the topic as do other nonnative grammarians. The only difference is that, unlike grammarians writing for second-language learners, he discusses the problem with special reference to the neutral gender of Sanskrit nouns. Similarly, he devotes considerable attention to the treatment of oblique cases in Hindi. Furthermore, like other nonnative grammarians such as Adam, he admits a separate class of honorific pronouns, thus classifying the pronouns into six classes, whereas native Indian grammarians favored the treatment of honorific pronouns as a subclass of personal pronouns. With respect to the treatment of agentive reflexive pronouns (*nij vācak*), it is noteworthy that, instead of relating them to honorific pronouns, Ethrington treats them as the "adjectives of nouns" (*saṅgyāõ kā visheshaṇ*), citing examples such as *mãĩ āp bolũgā* (I will speak by myself). He points out that the agentive reflexive pronoun, *āp*, functions as an adjective of nouns in the nominative case and it cannot occur alone.[51] The paradigms of emphatic as well as nonemphatic pronouns are also included in the section on pronouns, but no attempt is made to explain the difference between the two. In regard to the existence of two forms of each dative and accusative pronoun (*us ko* vs. *use*, i.e., *ko* forms and *e*-ending forms), it is remarked that the main advantage of two coexisting pronominal forms in each case is that if a sentence requires both cases, one case selects the *ko* form and the other the *e* form. Their alternative use blocks the problem of phonetic interference (*uccāraṇ vikār*), exemplified by sentences such as *mãĩ is ko tum ko dũgā* (I will give it to you).[52]

Employing the techniques of structural linguistics, Ethrington accounts for morphophonemic changes in pronouns by taking the simple forms as the base forms. For example, in order to derive the possesssive pronominal forms, the following alterations occur in the base form of the simple pronouns: *mãĩ* (I) —> *me*, *tū* (you) —> *te*, *ham* (we) —> *hamā*, and *tum* (you) —>

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[50] Shrīlāl's terms *vācak*, *apashabda*, *saṅket varṇa*, *prakritināmvācak*, and *saṅgyā pratinidhi* correspond to Ethrington's *sārthak*, *nirarthak*, *avyaya*, *vyaktivācak* and *sarvanām*, respectively. In other words, Ethrington brought back the widespread terms of Sanskrit and Hindi grammar. In this respect, he follows the grammatical terms employed by Pandit Rāmjasan.

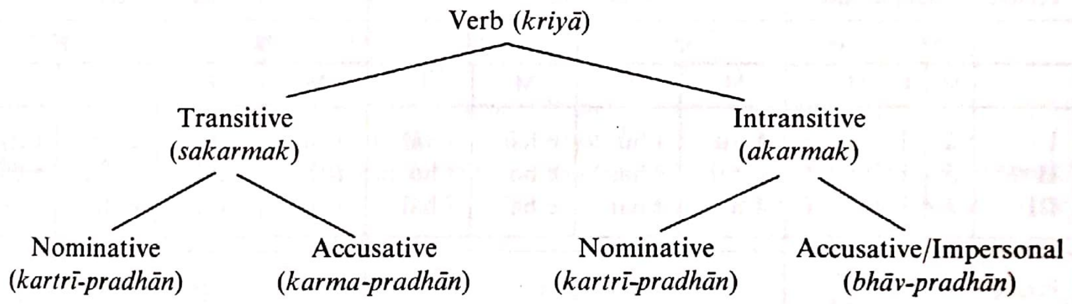
[51] Ibid., p. 47.

[52] Ibid., p. 45.

*tumhā*, and then the possessive markers *rā*, *re*, *rī* are added to the alternants. However the quantitative pronouns are derived from the oblique forms of the demonstrative singular pronouns (*is*, *us*) and the interrogative (*kis*) and relative pronouns (*jis*). By converting the stem-final *s* of these oblique forms into *-tnā*, the quantitative pronouns are obtained.[53]

The grammarian derives the stem of a verb from the infinitive form. Therefore, he agrees with Shrīlāl that the infinitive form is basic, not the imperative form, as assumed by most British grammarians. The verb was classified as shown in the verb diagram.[54] This classification is essentially similar to that of Shrīlāl. The class of object oriented (*karma-pradhān*) verbs was designed to account for the agreement of a verb with an object in passive and the *ne-* sentences. Ethrington deviated a little from Shrīlāl and extended his subclassification to include intransitive verbs. Noting the obvious contradiction with regard to the subclass of accusative intransitive verbs, he observed that the subclass actually functions as an impersonal verb (*bhāv pradhān kriyā*), as exemplified in negative sentences such as *binā bole nahī̃ rahā jātā* (one can not live without talking).[55]

*Verb Diagram*


Verb (*kriyā*)
Transitive (*sakarmak*)
Intransitive (*akarmak*)
Nominative (*kartrī-pradhān*)
Accusative (*karma-pradhān*)
Nominative (*kartrī-pradhān*)
Accusative/Impersonal (*bhāv-pradhān*)

It appears that Ethrington's conception of Hindi tenses was also heavily influenced by Shrīlāl. The main division of tenses into three groups and the subdivision of the past into six groups is shared by both tense schemes. However, a slight difference between the two analyses is seen in the subclassification of present and future tenses. These two tenses are subdivided further into general and presumptives under Ethrington's scheme, whereas Shrīlāl seems to be uncertain about the imperatives and presumptives. Ethrington was the first to use tree diagrams (*kriyā vriksha*), as shown in the tense diagram, to account for verb formation in Hindi.[56]

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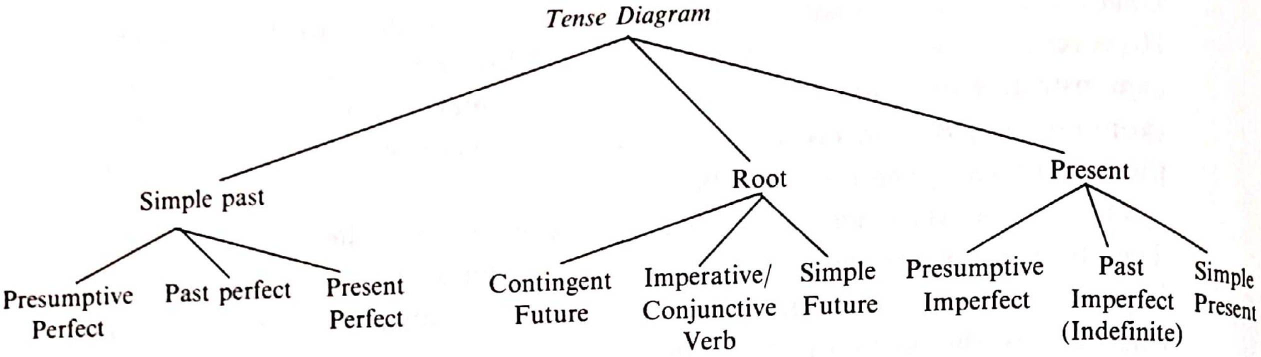
[53] Ibid., p. 50.
[54] Ibid., p. 52.
[55] Ibid., p. 53.
[56] Ibid., p. 55.


Tense Diagram
Simple past
Root
Present
Presumptive Perfect
Past perfect
Present Perfect
Contingent Future
Imperative/ Conjunctive Verb
Simple Future
Presumptive Imperfect
Past Imperfect (Indefinite)
Simple Present

The tree diagrams are supplemented by a table (Table 3) listing all the suffixes and auxiliary forms required to arrive at the correct tense forms from the root.[57] In addition, Ethrington provides another table listing verb exceptions.[58] An important feature of the verb exceptions is that common (*pracalit*) as well as uncommon (*apracalit*) exceptions are given. A case in point is the verb *karnā* (to do). Its common simple past and polite imperative forms are

*TABLE 3*

TENSE FORMATION: SUFFIXES AND AUXILIARIES

| Person | Simple Past | | | | Present Perfect | | | | Past Perfect | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sg. | | pl. | | sg. | | pl. | | sg. | | pl. | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| I | ā | ī | e | ī̃ | ā hū̃ | ī hū̃ | e hãĩ | ī hãĩ | ā thā | ī thī | e the | ī thī̃ |
| II | ā | ī | e | ī̃ | ā hai | ī hai | e ho | ī ho | ā thā | ī thī | e the | ī thī̃ |
| III | ā | ī | e | ī̃ | ā hai | ī hai | e hãĩ | ī hãĩ | ā thā | ī thī | e the | ī thī̃ |

| Person | Indefinite Imperfect | | | | Simple Present | | | | Past Indefinite | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sg. | | pl. | | sg. | | pl. | | sg. | | pl. | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| I | tā | tī | te | tī̃ | tā hū̃ | tī hū̃ | te hãĩ | tī hãĩ | tā thā | tī thī | te the | tī thī̃ |
| II | tā | tī | te | tī̃ | tā hai | tī hai | te ho | tī ho | tā thā | tī thī | te the | tī thī̃ |
| III | tā | tī | te | tī̃ | tā hai | tī hai | te hãĩ | tī hãĩ | tā thā | tī thī | te the | tī thī̃ |

| Person | Contingent Future | | | | Simple Future | | | | Imperative | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sg. | | pl. | | sg. | | pl. | | sg. | | pl. | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| I | ū̃ | ū̃ | ẽ | ẽ | ū̃gā | ū̃gī | ẽge | ẽgī̃ | ū̃ | ū̃ | ẽ | ẽ |
| II | e | e | o | o | egā | egī | oge | ogī | 0 | 0 | o | o |
| III | e | e | ẽ | ẽ | egā | egī | ẽge | ẽgī̃ | e | e | ẽ | ẽ |

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[57] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[58] Ibid., p. 76.

identified as *kiyā* and *kījiye*, respectively, whereas the uncommon counterparts are listed as *karā* and *kariye*.[59] Notice that the regularized forms of the exceptions were identified as uncommon. He attributes the pattern in the imperative and the past tense forms of four irregular verbs—*karnā* (to do), *lenā* (to take), *denā* (to give), *pīnā* (to drink)—to ease of pronunciation.[60] Ethrington observed the existence of the indirect imperative (*proksha vidhi*), and forms such as *kījiyo*, *dījiyo*, *pījiyo*, *lījiyo*, *hūjiyo*, and *jāiyo* were identified as indirect imperatives.[61]

Ethrington devoted considerably more attention to compound verbs than any other first-language grammarian. Adopting a syntactico-semantic approach, similar to the one adopted by John Shakespear, he proposed grouping Hindi compound verbs as shown in Table 4.[62]

*TABLE 4*

THE CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUND VERBS

| Main Types | Subtypes | | Second Verbal Element | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. Root | a. | *avadhāraṇa* | Roots: | *ā* (come), *jā* (go), *le* (take), etc. |
| | b. | Potential | Root: | *saknā* (to be able to) |
| | c. | Completive | Root: | *cuknā* (to be finished) |
| II. Simple Past | a. | Habitual | Root: | *karnā* (to do) |
| | b. | Desiderative | Root: | *cāhnā* (to want) |
| III. Simple or Oblique Infinitive | a. | *ārambha bodhak* | Root: | *lagnā* (to begin) |
| | b. | Permissive | Root: | *denā* (to give) |
| | c. | Reduplicative | Roots: | *cālnā* with the root *bolnā* (to speak);<br>*bhālnā* with the root *dekhnā* (to see) |

During the course of his discussion, other important observations made are the following: One, in expressions such as *ghaṛī bajā cāhtī hai* (the time is about to come), the auxiliary verb *cāhnā* (to want) denotes "an action about to happen."[63] Two, verbs can be classified into free verbs (*svatantra kriyā*) and bound verbs (*patantra kriyā*). The latter type can occur only as a second or auxiliary verb of a compound verb: it cannot occur by itself. Verbs such as *saknā* (to be able to) and *cuknā* (to be finished) belong to this class.

To the four types of participles outlined by Shrīlāl, Ethrington added yet a new subclass, *karaṇ kridanta*, bringing the number to five. This class was coined to account for nouns such as *karnī* (deed), *oṛhnī*, (shawl) and *khodnī*

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[59] Ibid., p. 77.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., p. 76.
[62] Ibid., pp. 80-82.
[63] Ibid., p. 82.

(digger) derived from infinitive verb forms *karnā* (to do), *oṛhnā* (to wrap), and *khodnā* (to dig), respectively. These nouns function primarily as instrumental nouns.

Ethrington analyzed sentences for their constituents. Following an approach analogous to immediate constituent analysis, the primary constituents of a sentence are identified as the subject (*uddeshya*) and the predicate (*vidheya*). Thereupon, the modifiers of these two primary constituents are identified. For example, the sentence *ghās ugtī hai* (the grass grows) is composed of the two basic constituents, as diagrammed below:

| | |
|---|---|
| ghās | ugtī hai |
| subject | predicate |

The above sentence can be expanded by modifying the subject (analyzed as *kartā*) and the predicate (analyzed as *kriyā* [verb]) with adjectives, as exemplified by the sentence below.[64]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| harī | ghās | shīghra | ugtī hai |
| subject | | predicate | |
| adjective | noun | adjective<br>(adverb) | verb |

Explaining further, Ethrington reveals that a predicate in Hindi can also be expanded by means of a noun, as exemplified by sentences such as *vah laṛkā rājā ho gayā* (the boy became the king). In this sentence the predicate is modified by a noun, *rājā* (king).

The treatment of syntax also includes a discussion of the deletion of constituents such as the yes/no question marker, *kyā*, with an appropriate intonation. The concept of unequal subjects (*asamān kartā*) is introduced, and Hindi sentences are classified into three types: subject oriented or active (*kratrī-pradhān vākya*), object oriented or passive (*karma-pradhān vākya*), and impersonal (*bhāv-pradhān vākya*).[65]

In order for a sentence to be acceptable, it must meet the following three conditions: One, syntactic expectancy (*ākāksha̅*): The expression *bail ghoṛā* (ox horse) is unacceptable to native speakers of Hindi because they view it as incomplete and expect or desire verbal constituents to follow it.[66] Two, logical consistency, which includes the concept of selectional restrictions or real world knowledge (*yogyatā*): Sentences such as *āg se sī̃cte hãĩ* ([People] irrigate with fire) are unacceptable because they lack compatibility among their constituents (*aucitya kā abhāv*).[67] The verb *to irrigate* requires the noun phrase *pānī* (water) to the left of it in Hindi. Since this selectional restriction or real world knowledge is violated, the sentence is unacceptable. Shrīlāl attempted to capture this notion by postulating a separate class of sentence types—"distorted sentences" (*asambadha vākya*). Three, constituent relationship (*āsakti*): A sentence must reflect the proper relationship among its constituents. If the relationship is interfered with or if a random collection of words is present, the expression ceases to be acceptable. According to Ethrington, the following Hindi sentence contains grammatical words and phrases, but it is unacceptable for the forementioned reason: *rāmdās*, *mor*, *cor*, *mār-pīṭ*, *len-den*, *āg-pānī*, *ghī-cīnī*, *in ko kah ke*, *sā̃jh ko āo*, *huā*, *paṛtā*, *hotī hai*, *karte hãĩ*, *le āo* (Ramdass, peacock, thief, beating, exchange, fire-water, purified butter-sugar, having told him, in the evening come, happened, lying, happens, do, bring).[68]

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[64] Ibid., p. 101.

[65] Ibid., pp. 106-107.

The grammar ends with a discussion of Hindi meter. The grammar is written in a very concise and clear style. Unlike in Rev. Adam's grammar, the grammatical terms are not ambiguous, and the style does not lack clarity. The grammar also meets the adequacy of the data. Since Ethrington also wrote a grammar of Hindi as a second language, he was able to combine successfully the insights of both first- and second-language grammars.

### 4.2.1.4 Rājā Shivprasād Sitār-e-Hind, *Hindī vyākaraṇa* (1875)

Rājā Shivprasād's primary motivation for writing his grammar was to eliminate "grammatical prejudices" stemming from the Hindi-Urdu controversy.[69] Clearly, the controversy had by now had a tremendous negative effect on the studying and teaching of Hindi grammar to native learners and had introduced several grammar-related inconsistencies and anomalies. Rājā Shivprasād observed that the teaching of vernacular grammar had reached the heights of absurdity in the school system. Not only had the language continued to be written and taught in two different scripts, it was also perceived to be "unique in having two grammars." Consequently, there were students "in the same class of a school, living among the same surroundings and using the same speech in the affairs of life, yet learning two schemes of accidence, so entirely diverse in form as well as in character that it is impossible to put a question which all will understand. The boy who uses *Bhāshā-bhāskar* knows absolutely nothing of what his class fellow learns in the *kavaid-i-Urdu* and vice versa, though they are supposed to be learning the same language."[70]

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[66] Ibid., p. 107.

[67] Ibid., p. 108. The above two conditions are borrowed from the Mīmānasaka theory of meaning.

[68] Ibid.

[69] The title of this work is given in both English and Hindi: Rājā Shivprasād, *Hindi Grammar (Hindi vyākaraṇa)*, Allahabad, Government Press, 1875 (Revised edition, 1900). The year is misprinted on the front page.

Noting the discrepancies between the actual language of native learners and the state of grammar teaching, the Rājā pinpointed three serious problems with existing practices of teaching Hindi and Urdu grammar. One, Hindi grammars and Urdu grammars exhibited inconsistencies with respect to their common Aryan heritage. He found Urdu grammars especially notorious in this regard because they failed to observe the Aryan element of the language and placed undue focus on Semitic elements. Two, the grammars employed mutually unintelligible grammatical terminology. Three, the language data employed by the two grammars were not a faithful representation of the actual speech of the learners. Shivprasād concluded that no useful purpose could be served by teaching two such grammars. To eliminate existing pedagogical inconsistencies, his grammar aims at introducing the common core of Hindi and Urdu. Aryan elements are focused upon, but Semitic elements also receive appropriate treatment. Grammatical terms of both Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic origin are used. With similar content and identical data, the grammar is written in Devanāgarī script for Hindi students and in Perso-Arabic script for Urdu students. In addition to the difference in script, both versions differ in terms of their focus on grammatical terms. The Hindi version adopts Sanskrit terms, whereas the Urdu version follows the Arabic order. A conversion table then renders the Arabic equivalents of the Sanskrit terms and vice versa. The scheme is indeed insightful and succeeded in alleviating the widespread misconception of the existence of separate grammars of Hindi and Urdu and in eliminating discrepancies between the language of the then-current grammar texts and the actual language of the learners. The work also left the impression in government circles that it was possible to write a common grammar of both forms of the vernacular (Urdu and Hindi),[71] and it gave further impetus to the question of language simplification in Hindi.

Except for offering a common grammar and the neutral variety of the language, the work does not claim to offer any new insights into Hindi grammar. For pedagogical reasons, the grammar consistently and consciously follows the following format: (1) aphorism, for the memory, (2) commentary or explanation, and (3) examples and illustrations. The topic of prosody is not incorporated because it had little relevance for teaching the language.[72]

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[70] Ibid., Preface, pp. 1-2.

[71] Ibid., p. 6.

[72] Ibid., p. 4.

In spite of its modest claim, the grammar has its merits and unique properties. It distinguishes itself by being one of the few grammars to omit the topic of script (*varṇa vicār*) altogether. Departing from the notion of grammar prevalent among his predecessors, Shivprasād takes a narrow view and proposes two components of grammar—word formation (*shabda racnā*) and syntax (*vākya racnā*).

The grammar takes a keen interest in the subcategorization of word classes. In the course of the discussion, either new subcategories are coined or a new look is provided at existing categories and subcategories. Consider, for example, the classification of the word (*shabda*). The class of the meaningful word (*sārthak*) is now subject to further subclassification into denotative (*vācak*) and connotative (*lakshak*) on one hand, and simple (*ayaugik*) and compound (*yaugik*) on the other.[73] Simple words cannot be further segmented into meaningful words, whereas compound words can be further divided. The subclassification of nouns also exhibits new features. Nouns are divided into three main classes: verbal nouns (*dhātu*), participles (*dhātuj*) and substantives (*rūṛhi*). To distinguish between native and borrowed verbal nouns, the class of verbal nouns is further divided into two subgroups: natural (*svabhāvik*) and artificial (*kritrim*). Borrowed verbal nouns such as *xarīdnā* (buying) are treated as artificial. The substantives are grouped primarily into two main classes—proper nouns (*vyakti vācak*) and common nouns (*jāti vācak*). The proper noun is further divided into five subgroups—name, pronoun, relative, possessive, vocative—but this subclassification lacks proper motivation.[74] His classification of the transitive root also has unique properties. The transitive root is divided into three types, depending on the number of objects present—monotransitive (*ekakarmak*), double transitive (*dvikarmak*), and triple transitive (*trikarmak*). The roots *khā* (eat), *batlā* (tell) and *batalwā* (cause to tell) are identified as mono, double, or triple transitive, respectively. Transitive roots can also be subclassified into inherent transitives (*svataḥ sakarmak*) and derivational transitives (*sahetuk sakarmak*). The root *khā* (eat) is inherently transitive, whereas its derived causative root *khilā* (feed) is identified as derivational double transitive (*dvikarmak sahetuk*). The derived transitive *uṭhā* (lift) (from an inherently intransitive root *uṭh* [get up]) is noted as a derivational transitive root (*sahetuk sakarmak*).[75]

The analysis of compound verbs is quite similar to that of Yates, Forbes, and Sir Monier Williams's eight classes.[76] The compound verbs are grouped into: (1) Definitives (*nishcayārthak*): compound verbs with second (auxiliary) verbal elements such as *dālnā*, *denā*, *jānā* were analyzed as more definite than their simple verb counterparts. (2) Potentials (*shākyārthak*): potential-denoting compound verbs are formed with *saknā* (to be able to). (3) Terminatives (*samāpanārthak*) with *cuknā* as an auxiliary verb. (4) Frequentatives (*nityārthak*): verbs composed of a main verb with the present participle and *rahnā* (to live) as an auxiliary. (5) Near Future (*āsannabhavishyadarshak*): verbs formed with an infinitive verb form plus *cāhna* (to want). This class is most widely known as "desideratives." (6) Inceptives (*ārambhārthak*): the main verb takes the oblique infinitive form (root + *ne*) and the auxiliary verb is *lagnā*. With the auxiliary element *shuru honā* (to begin) an infinitive can also be used as the main verb. (7) Nonpotentials or compulsives (*āshakyārthak*): written with auxiliary verbs such as *paṛnā*, for example, *jānā paṛā* (compelled to go). The grammarian prefers the term nonpotential to identify this class of verbs because compulsion signifies a lack of power on the part of the agent or subject of the sentence. (8) Permissives (*anumatyārthak*): compound verbs consisting of root + *ne* [main verb] and *denā* (to give) [auxiliary verb] add the meaning of *to allow* to the main verb, for example, *āne diyā* (allowed to come).

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[73] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[74] Ibid., pp. 10-22.

[75] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[76] Ibid., pp. 58-61.

What is interesting about his description and classification of Hindi tenses is that the conjunctive verb (*pūrvakālik kriyā*) is now seen as a subclass of the past tense (as well as of the future) instead of as a participle. In addition, the six types of the past tense as acknowledged by Ethrington are reinforced. Shivprasād also points out that the conjunctive verb is incapable of conveying tense information on its own but is dependent upon the tense of the main verb of the sentence for this purpose. Thus, in expressions such as *ākar bolā* (having come [he] spoke) the conjunctive verb *ākar* (having come) renders the past tense reading because of the tense of the main verb, *bolā* (spoke). In the course of his discussion on the tense of conjunctive verbs, he also pays considerable attention to the possibility of deriving the conjunctive verbs from coordinate structures such as *āyā aur bolā* (came and spoke).[77]

A noteworthy point of his treatment of syntax is the notion of useful (*upayogī*) and useless (*anupayogī*) sentences. Useful sentences meet the condition of *ākāṅkshā*, whereas useless sentences fail to satisfy this condition. Under the section entitled *anvaya* (analysis) a constituent analysis of a prose passage is presented.

The grammar has a unique format and is written in a simple spoken style. Occasionally, grammatical terms are coined from spoken Hindi. For example, the Hindi term *nām* replaces the most widely used term for proper noun (*vyaktivācak saṅgyā*). One of the striking features of the grammar is the lack of punctuation marks. The *virām* sign (full stop) is used at the end of paragraphs rather than at the completion of sentences. Expressions such as *aurat/auratõ si*

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[77] Ibid., p. 44.

*bevakūf* (stupid like a woman/women) exhibit a negative attitude toward women.[78]

### 4.2.2 *Second-Language Grammars*

#### 4.2.2.1 British Grammarians

##### 4.2.2.1.1 William Price, *A New Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language* (1828)

In terms of its scope and treatment of the parts of speech, William Price's *A New Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language* belongs to the class of pre-Gilchrist grammars.[79] It is data oriented. Perhaps in no other grammar written in English during this era are colonial attitudes so widespread and apparent as in this grammar. The paradigms of color sensitive nouns, "black boy" and "black girl";[80] dialogues portraying natives in subordinate and negative roles (e.g., uttering the Hindi equivalents of "having no occupation, I walk about");[81] and British gentlemen in authoritative and superior roles are typical themes of the Hindi sentences incorporated in the grammar. In "Dialogue V" (entitled "On Several Subjects") the grammar teaches Hindi equivalents of the type: So-and-so is not clean, so-and-so is dirty, so-and-so is not bright, etc.[82] In spite of this, the grammar does present crucial information on military Hindi.[83] This is perhaps its most positive merit. The list of grammar terms is not free from error; for example, it gives the term *bhūbcan* (the target form, *bahuvacan*), "plural."[84]

##### 4.2.2.1.2 James R. Ballantyne, *Grammar of the Hindustani Language* (1838)

During a period of four years, Ballantyne produced three grammatical treatises, one dealing with Braj Bhāshā and the other two with Hindi.[85] The works dealing with Hindi grammar were more or less similar to that of Captain Price and did not register any significant improvement over preceding works. One notable exception was that the grammarian seems to have been quite attached to Braj and this attachment becomes visible in his last work (1842), in which Braj along with Dakkinī received independent treatment. Ballantyne held the view that Braj Bhāshā was at the root of the development of Hindi and other Hindi dialects.

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[78] Ibid., p. 29.

[79] The complete title of this work is as follows: William Price, *A New Grammar of the Hindostanee Language to which are added, selections from the best authors, Familiar Phrases and Dialogues in the Proper Characters*, London, Parabury, Allen and Co., 1828. Following Grierson, Chaudharī and Shrīvāstava give the date of its publication as 1827-28. See Grierson, *LSI*, p. 19; Chaudharī, *HVI*, p. 225; and Shrīvāstava, *HKYV*, p. 214.

[80] Price, op. cit., p. 8.

[81] Ibid., p. 86.

[82] Ibid., p. 87.

[83] For details, see ibid., pp. 91-93.

[84] Ibid., p. 93.

[85] The complete references of the Hindi grammars are as follows: James R. Ballantyne, *Grammar of the Hindustani Language, with grammatical exercises*, London, C. Madden Co., 1838; also, *A Grammar of the Hindustani Language, with Notices of the Braj and Dakkini Dialects*. London, C. Madden Co., 1842.

### 4.2.2.1.3 W. Yates, *Introduction to the Hindoostanee Language* (1827)

Yates's grammar is composed in three parts: concise grammar, vocabulary, and reading.[86] The last two parts make the grammar very bulky. The reading part contains a collection of simple common expressions, familiar and moral tales and fables. Some stories are translated from English. The passages are presented in the order of their difficulty for learners. The vocabulary section draws from the vocabulary occurring in the reading passages and frequent lexical items absent from the reading section. Since the gender of Hindi nouns is viewed as "a source of great perplexity to learner," every vocabulary item presented in the section is marked for its gender.

Yates was the first British grammarian to admit Hindi and Urdu as two separate languages. Drawn from two distinct sources—Hindī/Hinduī from Sanskrit and Hindustānī/Urdu from Perso-Arabic sources—Hindi and Urdu, according to him, act as two independent languages and are used in two different sociolinguistic situations. He feels so strongly about the separation of the two languages that he does not hesitate to criticize other grammarians for overlooking this linguistic fact and treating them as one language.[87] To be fair to Yates, it should be added that in the absence of suitable comparative and historical linguistic research, his was not an unjustified conclusion.

The grammar introduces only the Perso-Arabic script. Its main graphemes and positional graphemic variants are given with some pronunciation cues. Phonetics received little attention in the first edition, but in a later edition,[88] an attempt was made to outline the basic phonetic system of Hindi with three short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*), five long vowels (*ā*, *e*, *ī*, *o*, *ū*), and two diphthongs (*ai*, *au*). The consonant system is described according to the criteria of manner and point of articulation. However, the classification of consonants is full of

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[86] The complete title of the grammar is: W. Yates, *Introduction to the Hindoostanee Language in Three Parts*, Calcutta, The Baptist Press, 1827. In his prefatory remarks, Dr. Shrīkrīshanlāl gives its date of publication as 1824. See Chaudharī, *HVI*, fn. 1, p. 226.

[87] Ibid., p. iii.

[88] Rev. W. Yates, *Introduction to the Hindustani Language: In Three Parts, Viz. Grammar, Vocabulary and Reading Lessons*, Calcutta, The Baptist Mission Press, 1843 (Fifth Edition, Improved).

inconsistencies and errors: (1) The symbol *gh* is ambiguous. It stands for the velar voiced aspirate as well as for the voiced uvular consonant. (2) The term "guttural" includes velar, uvular, and glottal consonants. (3) The class of fricatives goes unrecognized, whereas the term "semivowel" is used to express semivowels, rolled, and lateral sound segments. (4) The bilabial nasal is included with oral labial consonants but is excluded from the class of nasals.

Hindi nouns are reduced to two declensional systems. The first declension, consisting of masculine nouns, "varies according to the final letter of the word, which is either mutable or immutable."[89] The terms mutable and immutable are synonymous with unmarked nouns (ending in *-ā*) and marked nouns (ending in other than *-ā* sounds), respectively. The second declension, consisting of feminine nouns, "does not change or drop the last letter of the word, either vowel or consonant; but simply adds to it the different terminations. It differs however, from the immutables of the first declension in the formation of its nominative case plurals."[90] Yates justifies his classification into two declensions on the basis of three factors: gender, nominative plurals and "immutable" masculine nouns, which are responsible for the distinction between the first and the second declension of Hindi nouns.[91] To Shakespear's six cases Yates added two more, instrumental and vocative, bringing the number to eight. The underlying motivation for the inclusion of the instrumental case is the case marker, *ne*. According to Yates, "The instrumental case is always used instead of the nominative, before intransitive verbs in the perfect tense or its formatives; the nominative case to the verb follows, and the verb which succeeds, though active in termination, is passive in its signification; as, *ādmī ne arz kī* (by the man a request was made, or the man requested)."[92]

Yates's classification of the pronouns was more or less similar to that of Shakespear. In order to account for the class of "reflectives" (i.e., reflexives) and demonstratives, Shakespear postulated a distinct class termed "adjective pronouns." Gilchrist, however, favored their treatment under the personal pronouns.

Yates classifies Hindi verbs into two main groups: "active" and "neuter," corresponding to transitive and intransitive, respectively.[93] The tense scheme he adopts is essentially similar to that of Gilchrist, with two main differences: One, although they both postulate seven tenses in Hindi, Gilchrist admits two types of future tense, whereas Yates distinguishes between two types of present tense: present and present definite. The "present" tense includes expressions such as *mārtā* (beat) whereas an example of the "present definite" is *mārtā hai* (he is beating).[94] Clearly, this distinction is ill perceived. Two, as regards the choice of tense labels, Yates's terminology has more in common with Ferguson than with Gilchrist, especially in the case of perfect tenses. Yates adds a fifth mood to Gilchrist's four moods. The fifth mood is termed "subjunctive,"[95] which reflects a condition or supposition in sentences such as *agar mãĩ caltā* (if I had moved). Gilchrist's conjunctive or aorist mood is termed "potential" by Yates.[96] The treatment of the participles exhibits similarity with Shakespear's. Three participles rather than four, omitting Gilchrist's future participle, are proposed and Shakespear's "conjunctive past participle" is identified as the "past indefinite."[97] The remaining two categories, present and perfect participles, are borrowed without any change.

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[89] Ibid., p. 5.
[90] Ibid., p. 7.
[91] Ibid., p. 5.
[92] Ibid., p. 12.
[93] Ibid., p. 28.

The compound verbs are treated as a part of derivative and compound words. This class of verb is subcategorized into ten groups.[98] (1) Nominals: Verbs such as *mol lenā* (to buy); (2) Intensives: the combination of a root and another verb such as *jānā*, *ḍālnā*, *paṛnā*; (3) Potentials: verbs with *saknā*; (4) Completives: formed with *cuknā*; (5) Desideratives: formed by adding *cāhnā* (to want) to the past participle verb forms; (6) Frequentatives: the past participle plus *karnā* (to do); (7) Continuatives: the present participle incremented with the two verbs *jānā* (to go) and *rahnā* (to live); (8) Statisticals: derived by adding a verb to the inflected form of the present participle, for example, *rote dauṛnā* (to run weeping); (9) Reiteratives: "These are a repetition of the same verb, with some trifling alternation in the last. They are exceptions to the general rules, being conjugated alike in both parts; as *bolnā-cālnā* (to converse) *dekhnā-bhālnā* (to see)";[99] (10) Double Compounds: "These are formed by adding two verbal roots to the verb *karnā* (to do) as *khā pī karnā* (to eat and drink)."[100]

Yates was the first grammarian to raise the problem of surface versus underlying compound verbs. He excludes inceptives, permissives, acquisitives, etc., from the category of real compound verbs because they regularly consist of two verbs, the one governed by the other in the infinitive mood; as sīkhne lagā (began to learn), *jāne diyā* ([he] gave permission to go), *jāne pāyā* ([he] obtained permission to go).[101] Yates was ahead of his time in his treatment of compound verbs. Although his classification is subject to dispute, it was insightful.

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[94] Ibid., p. 32.
[95] Ibid., p. 44.
[96] Ibid., p. 28
[97] Ibid., p. 48.
[98] Ibid., pp. 63-65.
[99] Ibid., p. 64.
[100] Ibid., p. 65.
[101] Ibid.

After a long pause of about a century in the history of Hindi grammar, Yates is credited with reintroducing sentence parsing. He was the first British grammarian to include examples of parsing in his grammar. Consider his parsing of the sentence *do aurtẽ ek laṛke ke wāste āpas mẽ jhagṛā kartī thī̃*: *do* (two): a numerical adjective agreeing with the noun that follows. *aurtẽ* (women): a common noun of the second declension, feminine gender, third person plural, nominative case. Yates notes that it might have been in the singular number. *ek* (one): a numerical adjective agreeing with the following noun. *laṛka ke* (child): a common noun of the first declension, masculine gender, third person singular, possessive case. *wāste* (for): a "preposition," governing the masculine possessive case. *āpas mẽ* (between themselves): a reciprocal pronoun, locative case. *jhagṛā kartī thī̃* (were quarreling): a "compound verb," from *jhagṛā karnā*, indicative mood, imperfect tense, third person plural agreeing with the nominative case *auratẽ*.[102] Notice that the problem of segmenting the phrase "for the boy" is solved by using a translational criterion; *laṛke ke* forms one unit and *wāste* the other. No attempt is made to segment the former unit further. In spite of its shortcomings in the treatment of Hindi phonetics, the grammar contributes to the progression of grammatical thought and thus deserves far more credit than it has been granted by historians of Hindi grammar.[103]

### 4.2.2.1.4 Duncan Forbes, *A Grammar of the Hindustānī Language* (1846)

Duncan Forbes's *A Grammar of the Hindustānī Language*[104] grew out of his earlier work, *The Hindustānī Manual.*[105] The grammar went through several stages of modification and revision. For example, in the 1855 edition several improvements were made in the section on syntax.[106] The grammar attempts to unite the theory and practice of Hindi grammar pedagogy. Forbes paid more attention to pedagogical concerns than did any other grammarian of his time. The pedagogical convictions that shaped the grammar were: One, a preliminary knowledge of the language is a prerequisite for teaching grammar to a second-language learner. Two, although a translational method is crucial for the proper acquisition of language, it often overburdens the learner with vocabulary. A delicate balance between the introduction of vocabulary and the implementation of grammar per se must be maintained in order to ensure the proper acquisition of grammar. Three, combining etymology with syntax is an additional interference for the learner. Four, the short vowels are basic to the underlying phonetic system of the language. For these reasons, the grammar was designed to guard against overemphasis on vocabulary and non-Roman scripts on the one hand and to reject the mingling of syntax or grammar with etymology on the other. And the teaching of short vowels received far greater emphasis than that of long vowels.

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[102] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[103] Chaudharī credits the grammar for its stylistic simplicity and thinks that is responsible for its popularity. He remarks that it has nothing to offer regarding the treatment of Hindi grammar. See *HVI*, p. 226. Shrīvāstava gives just a bibliographic reference to the work, *HKYV*, p. 214. Other historians such as Jādhava make no mention of Yates.

[104] Duncan Forbes, *A Grammar of the Hindustānī Language in the Oriental and Roman Characters with numerous copper-plate illustrations of the Persian and Devanāgarī Systems of alphabetic writing: to which is added a copious selection of easy extracts for reading in the Perso-Arabic and Devanāgarī characters, forming a complete introduction to the Totā-kahānī and Bāgh-o-Bahār, together with a vocabulary of all the words and various explanatory notes.* London, W.H. Allen & Co., 1846 [New Edition, 1855]. The grammar has one of the longest titles, which is meant to give the overview of its general makeup.

[105] Duncan Forbes, *The Hindustānī Manual: A Pocket-Companion for those who visit India in any capacity intended to facilitate the essential attainments of conversing with fluency and composing with accuracy in the most useful of all the languages spoken in our Eastern Empire.* London, W.H. Allen & Co., 1845. The first edition of the grammar [1846] represented an improvement over the grammar section of the Manual. The revision was made by the then-emerging grammarian John Platts, who was the last grammarian to represent this era. Subsequent changes were made in line with its use in classrooms.

Another of Forbes's linguistic and pedagogical convictions was that punctuation marks are required for all written languages and cannot be overlooked in pedagogy, regardless of the writing conventions of the language in question. This position led him to introduce punctuation marks in the second component of his grammar, "Hindi Texts and Prose Passages." Not surprisingly, this innovation sent shock waves in some scholarly circles. Scholars questioned the wisdom of this practice, raising the fundamental question, What is the use of punctuation when the natives have none in their manuscripts?[107] In response, Forbes explained that his main reason for using them was to facilitate the acquisition of the language by beginners. However, pedagogical convenience was merely part of his broader goal of achieving language modernization. Drawing an analogy with the lack of punctuation marks in European books written four centuries before his time, he pointed out that the use of punctuation is seen as an "improvement" in the graphemic structure of a language, and that it is not right to deprive Indian languages of such an improvement. Against this background he viewed the failure to introduce punctuation marks in a text not as a sign of being faithful to the text, but as a sign of a condescending attitude on the part of an editor or grammarian.[108]

Forbes's grammar usually strikes a perfect balance between theory and practice. Not for a moment is the grammatical description of the language free from considerations of an actual classroom setting. This approach adds a new dimension to the grammar and permits it to go a step further than most of the grammars of his time in terms of its grammatical descriptions and explanations. Compare, for example, the treatment of Hindi sounds by Forbes with that of Beligatti and his successors. When unable to provide an articulatory account of the several language-specific sounds of Hindi, Beligatti turns to the aid of a teacher or a native speaker. The succeeding grammarians were able to provide adequate articulatory descriptions of the sounds. Forbes is no exception, but he does not stop there. He admits that even perfect phonetic descriptions can in no way compensate for the actual phonetic performance of a native speaker. Therefore, he also imposes the condition of "a good ear" in the acquisition of Hindi phonetics.[109] For some grammarians, on the contrary, pedagogical concerns proved harmful for grammatical analysis. Yates was so aware of the difficulty of Hindi gender for beginners that he left the impression in his readers' minds that the problem was too hopeless to solve. The best he could do was list the gender of each lexical item separately. This prompted the comment from Forbes that Yates gives "a list of some twelve or fifteen hundred exceptions."[110] But in Forbes's case pedagogical concerns made a healthy contribution.[111] His grammar is able to pinpoint pedagogical problems which had been totally overlooked or inadequately handled by other grammarians.

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[106] Forbes, 1855, op. cit., preface, p. vi.
[107] Ibid., p. viii.
[108] Ibid.

Following the practice of Indian grammarians, Forbes classifies Hindi parts of speech into three classes: nouns, particles, and verbs. Two points deserve special mention with respect to his treatment of the first two classes. (1) He observes that Hindi postpositions can potentially occur as prepositions in expressions such as *āge mard se* (in front of a man).[112] However, he fails to caution his readers that this tendency is restricted to compound postpositions alone and is motivated by focus considerations. (2) Forbes says that the pronominal plural third person pronouns with the agentive *ne* can alternate with *n* forms (*inne*, *unne* type) and *h* forms (*inhõne*, *unhõne*). However, the *n* forms are identified as more common than the *h* forms.[113]

The topic of verbs contains a relatively detailed discussion of Hindi passives and corrects the existing misconception that the use of the passive is not as widespread in Hindi as in English, as implied by other British grammarians, nor is it nonexistent, as reported by Indian grammarians such as Muhmad Ibrahim Magbah. The use of the Hindi passive is rightly described as infrequent.[114] Adopting an approach similar to that of Shakespear, Forbes gives the number of Hindi tenses as nine. The two moods aorist and imperative are included in the list of tenses.[115]

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[109] Ibid., p. 7.

[110] Ibid., p. 24.

[111] Forbes gives five principles to account for Hindi gender. For further details, see ibid., pp. 25-26.

[112] Ibid., p. 71.

[113] Ibid., p. 37.

Compound verbs are classified into four types, depending on whether the main verbal element consists of a root, a present participle, a past participle, or a nominal. The three types of compound verbs derived from a root are intensives, which are perceived as "more energetic in signification than the simple verb" (e.g., *mār ḍālnā* [to kill outright]);[116] potentials; and completives. From present participles are obtained the continuatives and statisticals. The frequentatives and desideratives are derived from the past participle. With these seven types and the class of nominal, the total number of the types of compound verbs is eight. Forbes's analysis of compound verbs is the mirror image of Yates's, with the exception of two classes: reiteratives and double compounds, admitted by Yates, are considered doubtful by Forbes because of their inability to occur in all tenses. They are restricted to the tenses of the present participle or the conjunctive participle. They are not conjugated regularly, for the auxiliary is added to the last element only, as is evident in the expression *ve bolte cālte hāĩ* (not *bolte hāĩ aur cālte hāĩ*) (they converse together).[117] The inceptives, permissives, and acquisitives are excluded from compound verbs for the same considerations as outlined by Yates. The rejection of reiteratives led Forbes to modify his criterion for determining compound verbs. Using the criterion of the invariability of the first verbal element, he concludes that in reality Hindi has five compound verbs: the intensive, potential, completive, frequentative, and desiderative.[118] The second element of these verbs is always conjugated in the usual way.

Regarding the treatment of *-ne*, Forbes set the record straight by correctly identifying it as an agentive marker and not an instrumental marker as thought by Yates. He also found Gilchrist's term "expletive" for the *-ne* inadequate on the grounds of vacuousness.[119] The concept of "government of verbs" covers the discussion of what are termed dative subjects. Forbes notes that some intransitive verbs such as *to come*, *to fall*, and *to become* govern the selection of the dative case.[120] Since intransitive verbs do not select any object, it is left implied that the dative marker *ko* is assigned to the subject.

In spite of its several merits, the work has its limitations. Some claims made in it are too strong. The claim that "there is not a single irregular verb in the language" is obviously incorrect.[121] There are some translational problems, as for example his translation of *xūb ranḍiyā̃* as "fine women."[122] The use of attitudinal labels such as "defects" and "peculiarities" is another shortcoming.[123]

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[114] Ibid., p. 66.
[115] Ibid., p. 44.
[116] Ibid., p. 64.
[117] Ibid., p. 66.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., p. 105.
[120] Ibid., p. 120.

### 4.2.2.1.5 Sir Monier Williams, *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Hindustani* (1858)

Sir Monier Williams, a celebrated Sanskritist, joined the ranks of Hindi grammarians with the publication of two works in 1858.[124] The grammars were written at a time when the memories of the 1857 mutiny were still fresh. Recognizing communication problems as an underlying reason for the mutiny, Sir Monier called for an eradication of the barriers between Europeans and Indians. According to him, the mutiny could have been avoided had the British had a better understanding of the Hindustani lanuguage.[125] He wrote his works as a step toward a better and more grammatical acquaintance with the spoken form of Hindi.

Four years after the publication of the two grammar texts, Williams published yet another work, which won the acclaim of many Hindi scholars.[126] Some of his successors considered this grammar the best one written at that time.[127]

The three works exhibit quite a bit of overlap. No significant difference is noticeable in the treatment of grammar. In order to speed the process of language acquisition, the grammars rely exclusively on English letters to express Hindi words. This approach is similar to the one adopted by Gilchrist. The works claim to be fuller, especially in their treatment of verbs and syntax, than any other grammar written thus far.[128]

The main classification of verbs and tenses is essentially borrowed from Forbes. The discussion of compound verbs also overlaps with Forbes's analysis. Williams's treatment of compound verbs deviates only on three points. The most significant difference lies in his account of nominal compound verbs. Twelve verbs are singled out for their "peculiar and idiomatic uses" in the nominal construction.[129] These verbs are *khānā* (to eat), *uṭhānā* (to raise), *khĩcnā* (to pull), *ānā* (to come), *milnā* (to meet/to be mixed), *lagnā* (to be applied/to touch/to be attached), *cāhnā* (to want), *rahnā* (to live), *rakhnā* (to keep), *mārnā* (to beat/kill), *farmānā* (to command/request), and *bannā* (to be made). The second difference has to do with Williams's reason for excluding reiteratives from the class of compound verbs. Modifying slightly the argument presented by Forbes, the grammarian states that they are excluded because they are restricted to "the tenses of the participles"[130] (rather than present participle tenses as observed by Forbes). The rest of the classification and the conclusion about real compound verbs are identical to Forbes's. The third difference has to do with details about inceptives, permissives, and acquisitives which Forbes omits. Yates's class of the double compounds is also detailed by Williams, but, like Forbes, he does not recognize this class as part of the compound verb.

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[121] Ibid., p. 42.

[122] Ibid., p. 33.

[123] The use of the *ne* is identified as a peculiarity of the language—ibid., p. 54. The absence of two distinct singular and plural forms of nouns such as *mard* (man) is viewed as a "defect" in the language. Ibid., p. 29.

[124] Sir Monier Williams, *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Hindustani, in which the English alphabet is adapted to the expression of Hindustani words with a full syntax*. London, Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858; the second work by the same author is *Rudiments of Hindustani Grammar*, Cheltenham, 1858.

[125] Williams, 1858, op. cit., preface, p. iii.

[126] Sir Monier Williams, *A Practical Hindustani Grammar containing the accidence in Roman type, a chapter on the use of Arabic words and a full syntax*. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1862 [fourth new edition 1876].

[127] See the preface of John Dawson, *A Grammar of the Urdu or Hindustani*, London, 1872, preface, p. i.

[128] Williams, 1858, op. cit., preface, p. v. Also his 1862 [1876], op. cit., preface, p. v.

The treatment of syntax derives special benefit from two sources—an analysis of some Hindi texts such as *Bāg-o-bahār* and the grammatical insights of Williams's Sanskrit grammar. The syntax of every part of speech receives detailed treatment. As a result, the marked word order of the parts of speech, optional syntactic rules, and the idiomatic usage of grammatical categories or constituents are distinctive properties of this section. In addition, an attempt has been made to present the entire translational range of Hindi grammatical constituents into English, on one hand, and to take a keen interest in such complex topics as the *ne*- construction, the dative, causative and compound verbs, participles, and the direct mode of speech, on the other. Presenting an insightful analysis of modes of speech in Hindi, Williams observes that among all oriental languages, Hindi is particularly remarkable in its preference for the direct mode of speech over the indirect mode. Equating direct speech with the dramatic mode of speech, he observes that the Hindi *ki* (like *iti* in Sanskrit) has the function of "saying to myself" and the words which follow are the very words supposed to be passing through the speaker's mind.[131] He also observes that *ki* often involves the sense of "saying," as exemplified in sentences such as *do ādmī bāhar hokar nikle ki kisī dūr desh mẽ jā rahiye* (two men, having met together, issued out, saying, let us go and reside in some distant country).[132] In other words, *ki* can function as a quotative marker in spite of the overt absence of the marker in the language.

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[129] Ibid., 1858, pp. 121-124; 1876, pp. 134-142.
[130] Ibid., 1858, p. 50; 1876, p. 69.
[131] Ibid., 1858, p. 124; 1876, p. 142.
[132] Ibid., 1858, p. 125; 1876, p. 143.

One of the most distinctive features of his treatment of syntax was the inclusion of ill-formed sentences together with the well-formed ones. The unacceptable sentences are presented within brackets prefixed with the word "not." This was one of the most important methodological innovations of the time in the context of syntax. While his predecessors and contemporaries did not attach any value to this practice and, indeed, avoided it as a stigmatized convention, it is so widespread in the grammars of Sir Monier Williams that one out of every four Hindi sentences or phrases cited represents an ill-formed counterpart of a correct sentence or phrase. Consider, for example, his discussion of postpositions. In order to demonstrate the polarized effects on a noun phrase of the surface deletion of a postposition, the author distinguishes between a class of postpositions such as *mẽ* (in) and *par* (at/on) on one hand and the *ko* postposition on the other. He further shows that the surface deletion of the former class does not block the oblique effect on the preceding noun or noun phrase. However, an oblique form can never be realized unless it is followed by the accusative marker, *ko*, on the surface. In order to make his point clear, he states "it is right to say *ye irādā* [not *is irādā*] *kartā hū̃* (I have this intention)."[133] Although the value of explaining the ungrammaticality of ill-formed sentences is evident to modern syntacticians, Williams was quite ahead of his time when he introduced this innovation into Hindi grammar.

In spite of their unmatched merits, the works have their shortcomings. Some Hindi verbal forms were analyzed wrongly because of the homophonous properties of their inflections. For example, the failure to distinguish between the future tense marker *-gā* and the extrapolite marker *-gā* led to the wrong analysis of extrapolite verbal forms such as *jāiyegā* (please go) as future imperatives.[134] Similarly, the verb form *cāhiye* (to need or want) was wrongly analyzed as the polite counterpart of the verb *cāhnā* (to want).[135]

### 4.2.2.1.6 John T. Platts, *A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language* (1873)

Platts began work on his grammar while he was in India.[136] Because he was ill when he returned to England, publication was delayed. The grammar was one of the best, if not the best, grammars of this era and was written with three goals in mind: One, in spite of British achievements in Hindi grammar, much work needed to be done. Two, there was a lot of room for improvement in Hindi-Urdu grammar. Three, Platts wanted to aid native as well as nonnative learners of Hindi-Urdu. The grammarian was especially dismayed by serious gaps in Urdu grammars. He observed, "It is notorious that Urdu scholars (and especially Mohammadans) are grossly ignorant of the origin of such words and inflections in their language as are not derived from the Persian and Arabic."[137]

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[133] Ibid., 1858, p. 98; 1876, p. 117.
[134] Ibid., 1858, p. 18; 1876, p. 37.
[135] Ibid., 1858, p. 49; 1876, p. 68.
[136] John Thomas Platts, *A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language*, 1873, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, first Indian edition, 1967.

The grammar registered four general improvements, (1) by extending the analyses of his predecessors, (2) by reducing some constructions regarded then as arbitrary to a set of rules, (3) by taking seriously the analyses of native grammarians, and (4) by systematically incorporating etymological or diachronic observations. Prior to Platts, some attempts were made in this fourth direction, but they can best be characterized as random and often obscured the synchronic observvations of the grammarians. A case in point is Yates's treatment of the agent marker *-ne*. Etymological considerations lead him to conclude that *-ne* functions as an instrumental case and thus he identified *ne* sentences as passive. Forbes viewed such an application of etymology as an unnecessary burden on the synchronicity of grammar and argued to eliminate it totally. However, Platts used etymology productively. According to him, the postposition of the agent case is derived from the affix *-ṇa* of the Sanskrit instrumental case (singular), to which it is no doubt at first understood to correspond in use and signification; but according to the conception of those who now employ it, it is nothing more than a mere sign to distinguish the subject or agent of a transitive verb in the tenses formed with the passive participle.[138]

The topics which particularly exhibit progress over earlier treatments are gender, numerals, Persian and Arabic constructions, causal verbs, compound verbs, particles, nominal and frequentative verbs, the accusative case, predicative adjectives in construction with factive verbs, and participles.

Like other traditional grammars, Platts's grammar does not address itself to the topic of phonetics and phonology directly. However, it exhibits remarkable perception for Hindi phonetics and phonological processes in the guise of script and the morphology of Hindi figures of speech. Consider, for example, his treatment of Hindi dental *t*. Preceding grammarians rarely devoted any attention to shared sounds between Hindi and English; the shared sounds were implicitly correlated with absolute similarity. Platts was the first grammarian to present gradational phonetic differences among the shared sounds. This led him to observe that the Hindi *t* was softer and more dental than the English *t*. Rather than satisfying himself with the generally overused traditional phonetic description of Hindi *t* as being a dental and unvoiced unaspirated sound, he gives more specific articulatory details: for example, the tip of the tongue should be placed against the edge or the back of the upper teeth.[139] Important observations on phonology are made in the course of a discussion of the processes of plural, participial, and causative formation. Platts can be credited with being the first grammarian to observe the existence of the rule of retroflex flap formation in Hindi. Working within the framework of diachronic phonology, he formulated the rule as follows: Sanskrit intervocalic retroflex unvoiced consonants *ṭ* and *ṭh* are realized as *ṛ* and *ṛh*, respectively, "after the letters p, ph, c, ch, and gh."[140] Similarly the schwa syncope rule is noted in the context of plurals, past participle, and causative formation.[141] Platts admits that he is unable to account for the phonological change from *k* to *c*, *biknā—> becnā* (to sell), but he goes on to explain the relationship between velars and palatals. He notes that in Sanskrit, when a verb beginning with a velar is reduplicated, the corresponding palatal is used; and conversely, final *c* of nominal bases is changed into *k* before certain case endings.[142]

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[137] Ibid., p. vii.

[138] Ibid., p. 37.

Hindi nouns are reduced to two declensions. The first declension comprises all feminine nouns and masculine nouns terminating in any letter except *-ā*. The second declension comprises all masculine nouns ending in *-ā* (except kinship terms, titles, professions, etc.).[143] Dismissing the claims of earlier grammars about the existence of six or eight cases, Platts was the first to observe correctly that there are two cases in Hindi, the nominative and the oblique.[144] His treatment of adjectives represents the most exhaustive account of the topic thus far. The same is true of pronouns, which are of ten kinds: (1) personal, (2) demonstrative, (3) relative, (4) correlative, (5) reflexive, (6) possessive, (7) interrogative, (8) reciprocal, (9) indefinite, and (10) pronominal adjectival.[145] The last two types are further subdivided. The indefinites are: simple *koī* (someone) and compound: *jo koī* (whoever), *koī aur* (someone else), etc. The pronominal adjectives are either primitives, *ek* (one), *sab* (all), etc., or derivatives, which are in turn of two types, adjectives of "quantity," *itnā* (this much), and adjectives of "kind," *aisā* (like this), etc.

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[139] Ibid., p. 5.

[140] Ibid., p. 164. As the result of the application of this rule, Sanskrit words *paṭhnam*, *pīṭha*, *sphoṭaka*, *caṭaka*, *sakaṭa*, *ghaṭa* and *ghoṭaka* are realized *paṛhnā*, *pīṛhā*, *phoṛa*, *ciṛiyā*, *chakṛā*, *ghaṛā*, and *ghoṛā*, respectively, in Hindi. If *ph* and a long vowel precede *ṭ* it generally changes into *ṛ*. For a detailed treatment of retroflex flap formation in Hindi-Urdu in the framework of generative phonology see Donald A. Baker and G.C. Narang, "Generative phonology and the retroflex flaps of Hindi-Urdu," *General Linguistics*, 1974, 14:3, pp. 129-155.

[141] Platts, op. cit., pp. 36, 132, and 162, respectively.

[142] Ibid., p. 164.

[143] For declensions, see ibid., pp. 39-43.

[144] Ibid., p. 36 for the oblique case. He also borrowed the term "Formative" case from Caldwell.

[145] For details, see ibid., pp. 113-128.

There are two main groups of verbs: transitive and intransitive.[146] Intransitives are further divided into active and neuter verbs such as *to run* and *to sleep*, respectively. The transitive verbs have two voices, active and passive. The verbal nouns are two: the infinitive or gerundive, and the noun of agency (*calne wālā* [mover/goer]). The participles are three in number, namely, imperfect, perfect, and past conjunctive. There are three moods, indicative, imperative, and subjunctive or conditional, also known as the optative. Hindi tenses are grouped into two main groups, simple and compound, and they are subjected to further subclassification according to the scheme in Table 5.

*TABLE 5*

TENSES

| Simple | Compound |
|---|---|
| 1. Aorist: *jāe* (will go) | 1. Future: *jāegā* (Aorist + *gā*) |
| 2. Past Indefinite: *gayā* (went) | 2. Present Imperfect: *jātā hū̃* (go/am going) |
| | 3. Past Imperfect/Continuous: *jātā thā* (used to go/was going) |
| 3. Past Conditional: *jātā* (had gone) | 4. Present Perfect/Proximate Past: *gayā hū̃* (have gone) |
| | 5. Past Perfect/Remote Past: *gayā thā* (had gone) |
| | 6. Future Perfect/Past Potential: *gayā hū̃gā* (I shall have gone) |

Platts's disagreements with his predecessors on the subject of tenses were many. In his view, earlier treatments of the past conditional as the "indefinite" were misleading. He felt that the tense had greatly perplexed English authors. In fact, the so-called indefinite was not a present tense at all, as assumed by Yates and others, but a past subjunctive.[147] He also seriously disagreed with his predecessors over their observation that the future perfect was a rare occurrence in Hindi, and he doubted Rev. Ethrington's assertion that the aorist tense was not indicative at all.[148]

In addition to the simple verb, a class of derivative verbs was coined to embody three other types—compound, causal, and denominative verbs.[149] Platts's analysis of compound verbs has considerable depth. It observes some serious discrepancies between the form and the function of compound verbs. All existing analyses had implicitly assumed a neat correlation between the two, but Platts shows that several compound verbs with the structure root + verb do not belong to the class of intensives at all. Compound verbs such as *ho jānā* actually belong to the class of completives.[150] The classes of frequentatives and continuatives are now merged into one class.[151] It is also observed that compound verbs formed with the past participle are intransitive in character and do not become passive.[152] Finally, in a response to the problem of the classes of true compound verbs, Platts establishes that, strictly speaking, seven classes qualify as true compound verbs: intensives, potentials, completives, continuatives, frequentatives, desideratives formed with the perfect participle, and transitives formed by prefixing a past conjunctive participle to a verb denoting motion, *le ānā* (to bring).[153] Excluded from his definition of the compound verb were the categories of inceptives, permissives, desideratives with infinitives, reiteratives and acquisitives. From the category of nominals were excluded verbs prefixed with a noun (substantive or adjective). Verbs such as *pānī denā* (to irrigate) and *cauṛā karnā* (to widen) are not considered instances of nominals because the noun simply serves to complete the notion of the verb, forming a "predicative noun" in the nominative when the verb is intransitive, and in the accusative when the verb is transitive. Furthermore, the noun can be separated from the verb by other words.[154]

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[146] Ibid., pp. 129-135.

[147] Outlining the underlying problem of analyzing this tense, he hypothesizes, "The error is probably due to the fact that the present tense is sometimes used elliptically without the auxiliary, and so has the appearance of the conditional." Ibid., p. 142.

[148] Citing examples such as *kyā karū̃* (What am I to do?) and *Xudā jāne* (God knows), he argued that it is misleading to call it the prospective conditional. According to Platts, the tense is the equivalent of the Prakrit present indefinite. Ibid., p. 139.

[149] Ibid., p. 161.

Distinguishing between underlying and surface realization of the causative marker *wā*, Platts revealed that in a few verbs *w* appears to be inserted before the causal increment *-ā* for the sake of euphony alone.[155] Thus analyzing *w* as a phonetic insertion, he observed that causals are generally formed by adding *-ā* to the root of a primitive verb, whether it be transitive or intransitive; and the double causal by adding *w* before the increment *-ā* of the causal. Subordinate to this rule are two others: (1) If the root of the primitive verb is dissyllabic, the vowels of both syllables being short and that of second *-a*, this *-a* is dropped in the first causal (*samajh-na* [to understand], *samjhā-nā* [to explain] and *samjhwā-nā* [to have (something) explained]); (2) If the root of the primitive verb is monosyllabic and encloses a long vowel or diphthong, the vowel or diphthong is changed in both causals into the corresponding short vowel (e.g., *jāgnā* [to be awake], *jagānā* [to wake], and *jagwānā* [to cause one to be wakened]). Other verbs such as *bhīgnā* (to become wet), *ḍūbnā* (to sink [intransitive]), *bolnā* (to speak) and *baiṭhnā* (to sit down) follow this pattern. The second rule is further divided into two parts. The first part accounts for the use of the markers *-lā*, and *-lwā* in the causal and double causal, respectively, with the roots of the primitive verb ending in a long vowel (*ā*, *ī*, *e*, *ū*, *o*) such as *khā* (eat), *pī* (drink), *so* (sleep), *chū* (touch). This rule is modified slightly to account for the causal forms of the roots ending chiefly in *h*, *kh*, and *ṭh*, for example, *kah* (say), *sīkh* (learn), *sūkh* (dry), and *baiṭh* (sit). The second part is devoted to intransitive roots enclosing short vowels. According to Platts, these roots are made transitive by the insertion of *-ā-* in the root itself, this *-ā-* coalescing with radical *a* into *ā*, with radical *i* into *e*, and with radical *u* into *o*, as evident from the following pairs, *katna* (to be spun), *kātna* (to spin); *biknā* (to be sold), *becnā* (to sell); and *khulnā* (to be open), *kholnā* (to open). It is also noted that some verbs such as *phūṭnā* (to be broken), though derived from Sanskrit causals, sometimes lose their causal signification and become simply transitive. The transitive and causal counterparts of the verb are *phoṛnā* (to break) and *phuṭānā* (to make [milk, etc.] boil), respectively. The causal form does not share the meaning with *phoṛnā*. Similarly, *kaṭānā* is the causal of both *kaṭnā* and *kāṭnā* (to cut) but more commonly that of the latter.

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[150] Ibid., p. 171.

[151] Under Platts's analysis there were two types of continuatives: one using the present participle, *sunte jānā* (to go on listening) as observed by preceding grammarians, and the other formed with the past participle, *kiye jānā* (to go on doing). The latter type was Platts's own discovery, and it alone was merged with the frequentatives. The former type was recognized as an independent category.

[152] Ibid., p. 174.

[153] Ibid., p. 180.

[154] Ibid., p. 169.

[155] For details, see ibid., pp. 161-165.

The third major category of the verb, denominative verb, is devised to account for verbs derived from nouns with the addition of the infinitive marker *nā* (i.e., *xarīdnā* [to purchase]).[156] The second type of denominatives are derived from nouns and adjectives with the addition of the termination *ānā* in verbs such as *sharmānā* (to be bashful).

The classification of sentences into subject and predicate and the further analysis of these two constituents is in agreement with native grammarians of Hindi. Like Sir Monier Williams, Platts pays equal attention to unmarked and marked word order. But unlike Williams, he does not overlook the function of marked order, explaining that SVO word order can be found in Hindi for emphasis. Readers are warned not to imitate this order because it is "irregular."

### 4.2.2.2 Non-British Grammarians

#### 4.2.2.2.1 M. Garcin de Tassy, *Rudimens de la Langue Hindoustani* (1829)

It is rather paradoxical that as much as Garcin de Tassy is celebrated for his works in the area of Hindi literature, he has been neglected by historians of

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[156] Ibid., p. 168.

Hindi grammar. This is probably because his grammar was written in French.[157] Because of this neglect, it deserves a detailed treatment here.

Tassy's grammar is primarily data oriented and shares several other characteristics with the pre-Gilchrist grammars. However, the work is unique in the sense that it is the only source of objective information on the variety of Hindi which the British called "Moors."

The general organization of the grammar is as follows: introduction and notes (pp. 7-26), alphabets (pp. 27-32), noun substantives and adjectives (pp. 33-39), pronouns (pp. 40-43), verbs (pp. 44-70), adverbs (p. 71), "prepositions," conjunctions and interjections (pp. 72-73), numerals (pp. 74-77), a Hindi passage in Perso-Arabic and its transcription in Devanāgarī (pp. 78-80), and grammatical analysis (i.e., sentence parsing) (pp. 81-99). Four years later an appendix was published which contained a preface (pp. 1-2), reading passages in both scripts (pp. 3-62) and errata (p. 63).[158]

The foreward of the grammar, with a note of caution, puts the aim of the work in proper perspective. Tassy's goal was not to write an original grammar of Hindi but to summarize the existing information crucial to gaining a functional knowledge of the language. Surprisingly, he views John Shakespear's grammar rather than Gilchrist's as the existing complete work on the subject. His only criticism of Shakespear's grammar is that syntax does not receive sufficient consideration.[159]

Before embarking on the Hindi figures of speech, the text addresses itself to three questions: (1) What is Hindustani? (2) What is its importance in the context of India? and (3) What is the nature of its literature?

To answer the first question, Tassy traces the origin and development of modern Hindi, from Sanskrit to Prakrit. He then details the effects of Moslem invasions on India, starting from the eleventh century. The most important linguistic impact of these invasions was the adoption of the Perso-Arabic script. Finally, he concludes that Hindi is the national language of India and that any traveler with a knowledge of Hindi can travel in all regions of the country without the aid of an interpreter. The most interesting aspect of his survey of the historical development of Hindi is his discussion of Moors. Although from the titles of the grammars written by the British it is clear that Hindi or Hindustani was popularly known by this term during that time, no objective account of Moors was attempted. Garcin de Tassy holds British colonization responsible for the emergence of Moors, and in his view it is a degenerated form of the language with many borrowings from English. From his description of Moors, it becomes clear that the term refers to the spoken lingua franca of India containing some pidginized properties as a consequence of its contact with English. The author warns his audience that this variety is totally unsuited to studying the literary tradition of Hindi.

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[157] M. Garcin de Tassy, *Rudimens de la Langue Hindoustani*, a l'usage des élèves de L'école Royale et spéciale Des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Imprimé Par Autorisation Du Roi A L'imprimerie Royal, Paris, 1829.

[158] Tassy, *Appendice Aux Rudimens de la Langue Hindoustani: contenant; outre quelques additions à la grammaire, des lettres Hindoustani originales, accompagnées d'une traduction et de facsimile*. Paris, Imprimé Par Autorisation Du Roi, 1833.

[159] Tassy, 1829, op. cit., p. 5.

In response to the second question, Tassy advocates learning Hindi for political and governmental affairs.[160] His literary orientation causes him to pose the third question. He takes keen interest in the description of Hindi literature and attempts to draw the attention of Europeans to its riches.

Garcin de Tassy introduces the two scripts Perso-Arabic and Devanāgarī in the form of tables, giving the pronunciation of each letter in Roman letters and then going on to show how to join letters to form words. No attempt is made to include Hindi phonetics in the chapter even indirectly by way of classifying the letters according to the principles of phonetics. The grammarian distinguishes five declensions of masculine nouns: ending in a consonant, *ghar* (house); in *ā* and *au*, *ghoṛā* (horse); invariable *ā*, as *lālā* (a merchant); in *-ī*, *dhobī* (washerman); and the nouns composed of two syllables with a short vowel in the first and "zabar" in the second, *farishtā* (angel); and four feminine declensions: ending in *ī*, *ghoṛī* (mare); in *ā*, *balā* (trouble); in a consonant, *rāt* (night); and with a "masculine form," *nazar* (sight).[161] The cases in Hindi are seven: nominative, genitive, dative and accusative, vocative, ablative, and commorative or locative. The dative and accusative are grouped together because they share an identical form. In the context of adjectives, very brief remarks are offered regarding the role of endings in signaling the gender of Hindi nouns. But in the end, following Yates's approach, he advises his readers to learn the gender of each noun individually.[162]

The pronouns are classified into personal, demonstrative, reflexive, relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. The last two classes are sensitive to animate and inanimate distinctions.

Hindi verbs are grouped into three classes: neuter, active and passive. One of the important properties of the active verbs is that they can take the *se* (rather than the *ne*) postposition with a subject and in that case the verb agrees with an object.[163] Although Tassy does not spell out his tense scheme explicitly, from his paradigms it becomes clear that he had a new classification of the future in mind. He identified four subclasses: future present: *jātā hoū̃* or *hoū̃gā*; future indefinite: *jāū̃*; future definite: *jaū̃gā*; and future past: *gayā hū̃* or *hoū̃gā*. Like

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[160] Ibid., p. 10.

[161] For their declension, see ibid., pp. 33-38.

[162] Ibid., p. 38.

[163] Ibid., p. 68.

Yates, he distinguished between two types of present—present indefinite, *jātā*, and present definite, *jātā hū̃*. His classification of the past tense is in agreement with other grammarians of his time.

The causative verbs are left largely unaccounted for; however, the grammarian was fascinated by compound verbs. His analysis of compound verbs turns out to be very similar to Yates's. They both postulate ten categories.[164] Seven categories are shared whereas three categories of Tassy, i.e., inchoatives: stem + *lagnā*, permissives: root + *denā* and acquisitives: root + *pānā*, are excluded by Yates, who replaces them with three substitute categories: statistical, reiterative, and double compound verbs.

#### 4.2.2.2.2 Others

The first known German contribution to Hindi grammar was the work of Dettlow J. Prochnow toward the second half of the nineteenth century.[165] The German impact on Hindi grammar was insignificant. Independent contributions by Indian Moslems to the second-language grammars of Hindi began with the work of Maulavi Amantu'llah in 1810.[166] The most distinctive feature of his grammar was that it was written in Hindi verse. It was soon followed by the works of Muhammad Ibrahim Magbah,[167] Krishan Rao,[168]and Hyder Jang Bahadoor.[169] Among Indian grammarians Magbah had more impact than is acknowledged by historians of Hindi grammar, who have failed to mention him. He is generally recognized by Platts and others for his attacks on the analyses of Gilchrist and Shakespear. Among the non-British grammarians, only Garcin de Tassy had an impact in Hindi grammatical circles.

### 4.2.3 Multiple-Language Grammars

During this era three-language grammars were also written. This started as a joint Indo-British venture one and a quarter centuries after Ketelaar's incomplete effort to write a two-language grammar of Hindi and Persian. Muhammad Salih and William Price wrote a three-language grammar of Hindi, Persian, and Arabic.[170] It was quickly followed by two other attempts, one by Alexander Faulkner[171] and the other by Debi Prasād.[172] Strictly speaking, these grammars did not contribute anything to the development of Hindi grammar because they satisfied themselves with comparative tables and charts of vocabulary and the basic conjugations of the languages and made no attempt to present comparative and typological observations about the language.

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[164] Ibid., pp. 69-70.

[165] J. Dettlow Prochnow, *Anfangsgründe einer Grammatik der hindustanischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1852.

[166] Maulavi Amantu'llah, *Serf-e-Urdu, or the Short Grammar of the Hindoostani Language written in Hindee verse*, Calcutta, 1810. Chronologically, this work belongs to the previous era.

[167] Muhammad Ibrahim Magbah, *Tuḥfā-e Elphinstone (Present to Elphinstone [The Governor of Bombay])*, *A Hindustani Grammar*, Bombay, 1823.

[168] Krishan Rao, *Polyglott Interlinear, Being the first Instructor in English, Hindui, etc.* Calcutta, 1834.

[169] Hyder Jang Bahadoor, *Key to Hindustani*, London, 1861.

[170] Muhammad Salih (Mirza), and W. Price, *A Grammar of the Three Principal Languages,*

## 4.3 *Conclusions*

### 4.3.1 *General Properties*

In spite of initial setbacks in terms of leadership and government patronage the era ends on a high note with the works of Ethrington, Platts, Sir Monier Williams, and Shivprasād. Diversity was a principle characteristic of this era. The tradition was enriched by the variety of scholarship, formats, and mediums. British, Indians, French and Germans made important quantitative and qualitative additions. Bilateral exchange ended the ethnic isolation of Hindi grammar. Although exchange between Indian Munshis and Indian creative writers began during the Gilchrist era, the mutual isolation of British and Indian grammarians continued. But now exchange grew so rapidly that it became a common practice among British grammarians to cite the work of Indian grammarians, especially when treating problematic topics. And the French grammarian Garcin de Tassy showed his familiarity with British as well as Indian grammarians of Hindi. New formats such as questions and answers, verse, three-language grammars, and unified grammars of Hindi and Urdu were also introduced. In addition to English, grammars were written in Hindi, French, and German. It became fairly common to write grammars in the second language of the author. Some grammarians, such as Rev. Ethrington, wrote their works in both the first and the second language.

The topic of prosody, which had begun to creep into the tradition during the past era, now became a common feature. Two newcomers who received a warm welcome were the topics of metaphors (*alaṅkār*) and morphophonemics (*samās* and *sandhi*). The lexicographic tradition began to assert its independence from Hindi grammar more strongly than ever. The vacuum left by its withdrawal was gradually filled by comparative and etymological insights about the language.

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*Hindoostanee, Persian and Arabic on a plan entirely new and perfectly easy to which is added a Set of Persian Dialogues, composed by Mirza Mohammad Salih, accompanied by an English Translation by W. Price*, London, 1823.

[171] Alexander Faulkner, *The Orientalist's Veda Mecum: Being an easy introduction to the rules and principles of the Hindustani, Persian, and Gujarati Languages*, Bombay, 1854.

[172] Debīprasād, *Debipresad's polyglott Grammar and Exercises in Persian, English, Arabic, Hindee, Oordoo, and Bengali with an analysis of Arabic and synonymous words and of logical argument for the use of the students*, Calcutta, 1854.

More than a century late, the first-language grammars finally joined the second-language grammars, thus filling in the last missing piece of the grammatical tradition. The two grammar types varied considerably in terms of the scope, orientation, and treatment of topics. Owing to their divergent needs and different focus, first-language grammars placed heavy emphasis on the learning of the grammar, that is, grammatical terms and their definitions. Second-language grammars, on the other hand, focused their attention on data presentation because it facilitated language learning. They stressed the inclusion of numerous examples in the core of the grammars and reading and writing passages in the appendices. First-language grammars on the whole shied away from including such passages. Data presentation was seen as unnecessary for the native audiences except for explanatory purposes.

The two grammar types exhibit an interesting opposition in terms of the variety of language they set out to examine. As the second-language grammars shifted more and more toward the written variety of Hindi, the first-language grammars showed more inclination toward the spoken variety. In the course of the treatment of Hindi syntax, second-language grammars became more and more dependent upon text analysis; first-language grammars invariably avoided this practice.

Other distinctive properties of the first- and second-language grammars are as follows. Out of their concern for classification of the sounds, first-language grammarians took more interest in the topic of the Devanāgarī script than did second-language grammarians. In second-language grammars, the Devanāgarī script was secondary to the Perso-Arabic script. Also, the concept of language testing was more rigorously built into second-language grammars, and they began to take the shape of manuals, whereas the first-language grammarians totally neglected the area of testing. In short, first-language grammars were largely theoretically oriented, whereas second-language grammars were more pedagogically oriented.

Both grammar types began to exhibit strong prescriptive tendencies. With the emergence of the first-language grammars, the model of Sanskrit grammar furnished another choice for Hindi grammar, whereas second-language grammars had overwhelmingly favored the English model. Of course both types influenced each other.

Keeping in mind the requirements of their audience, the two kinds of grammar varied in their treatment of certain topics. Consider, for example, their different treatments of compound verbs. The first-language grammars enumerate the various types of compound verbs, but, unlike second-language grammars, they exhibit little concern for their function and the question of underlying versus superficial compound verbs. The grammars presuppose a knowledge of these points on the part of native speakers. Similarly, in comparison to the second-language grammars, the first-language grammars take little or no note of the problems of gender.

During this era the first-language grammars used the term "Hindi" to refer to the variety of language under discussion. The second-language grammars shifted their preference in favor of the term "Hindustani." It is clear that the term "Hindustani" was quickly losing its affinity with the term "Hindi" and was becoming more synonymous with "Urdu."

### 4.3.2 *Problems and Shortcomings*

With advances in Hindi grammar, the grammarians succeeded in devising remedies for some old problems. The transcriptional and data recording problems were reduced to insignificance. Even such serious problems of the previous era as the indeterminacy of arriving at the language-specific properties of Hindi were solved successfully. Rather than turning to the category of "article" to account for the existence of the indirect strategy of inducing definiteness in Hindi, the grammarians of this period, following the model of the first-language grammars, rightly observed that one of the functions of third person demonstrative Hindi pronouns and indefinite pronouns is to express the notion of definiteness and indefiniteness, respectively. Hence, no attempt was made to subclassify the category of article to account for this phenomenon. In spite of their successes, an examination of their works and their self-evaluative remarks reveals that new problems of an analytical nature cropped up during this era.

Three topics which proved problematic for the second-language grammars were tenses, participles, and the class of nominal compound verbs, i.e., compound verbs with a structure stem + verb. Their treatment of Hindi tenses reveals that, with the exception of the past tenses, the old problem of Hindi tenses continued to haunt them. Grammarians rarely agreed on the treatment of tenses. This disagreement did not stem from their individual innovative tendencies, but was due to their failure to come to grips with the problem at hand. The main points of contention were the following: the exact number of tenses, their labels, subclassification of the main tenses, and their semantics. A number of underlying factors were responsible for disagreements in these areas. The failure to distinguish between tense, mood and aspect contributed to the differences in the number of tenses postulated for Hindi. An inability to distinguish between the optional deletion of the auxiliary element and its obligatory absence also led to misleading subclassification of the tenses. Consider, for example, the optional deletion of the auxiliary verb in the present tense and its obligatory absence in some conditionals. Except for Platts, most of the grammarians fell victim to this problem. Their translational problems and the failure to note the absence of neat correspondences between Hindi and

English tenses contributed to remaining disagreements over the labels and semantics of the Hindi tenses. Another problem pertaining to tenses was the wrong analysis of the extrapolite imperatives. The formal and functional overlapping between the imperatives and the future tense (the homonymy of the extrapolite imperative and the future tense marker *gā*) led some able grammarians such as Sir Monier Williams to treat the extrapolite imperatives as a subtype of the future tense. Either the extrapolite imperatives were conveniently omitted from the description of verbs or they were analyzed along the lines of Williams. It may be argued that it is justified to treat the extrapolite imperatives as a variety of the future tense on functional grounds, but to exclude the other three types of Hindi imperatives from the category of the future tense questions the adequacy of such treatment.

The main problem with their analysis of participles was uncertainty over the inclusion of agentives, gerundives, and the conjunctives in this category. The grammarians provided no justification for either their inclusion or exclusion. Their exclusion from the participles resulted in their treatment either as a nominal type or as an independent category. Also, some grammarians favored the treatment of the conjunctive participles as a subtype of the past as well as the future tense.

Among the compound verbs, the class of nominals puzzled them the most. They were quite unsure about its function. On the whole, they envisioned three possible functions of the nominals: as intensifiers, definitizers, or adverbials. The last function was based on a translational criterion. Their claim about the first two functions was left unsubstantiated. Furthermore, their failure to observe that some nominal compound verbs do not perform any of the forementioned three functions is an additional shortcoming. The problem went unnoticed until Platts observed that some nominal compound verbs ought to be classed with the class of completive compound verbs. Also, their attempt to distinguish between the real and superficial compound verbs fell short of their target owing to the employment of unsatisfactory criteria which failed to separate the desideratives and other types of superficial compound verbs from the real compound verbs.

The grammarians failed to utilize the insights gained from the feature analysis of Hindi sound segments in the formulation of phonological rules. Instead, they employed an unsatisfactory letter-based and segmental approach. In addition, their rule formulation favored the utilization of diachronic over synchronic information as part of the structural description of a rule. These problems are best exemplified by the formulation of the retroflex flap rule by Platts. Their letter-based and segmental approach led them to claim wrongly that rules such as the flap formation rules apply to an arbitrarily determined group of letters or sound segments rather than to a natural class of sounds.

The first-language grammars sometimes suffered from oversimplified and circular grammatical explanations and from classificatory problems. The explanations offered to account for the phenomena of variations and exceptions in linguistic forms were often too simplistic. For example, the grammarians used "ease of pronunciation" on the part of native speakers as an explanation for almost all instances of variations and exceptions. Of the two dative pronominal paradigms (*usko* and *use* type), the ease of pronunciation is held responsible for the existence of the second type, i.e., *e*-type dative pronominal forms. This phenomenon also explains the exceptional behavior of four verbs in the past tense—*karnā* (to do), *lenā* (to give), *denā* (to give), and *pīnā* (to drink). The circularity of their classification is evident from their subclassification of agent (subject), object, and verb in order to account for the *ne* marking with subjects and the inability of *ne* subjects to control verb agreement. Observe the following subclassification of the three categories: agent: primary (without -*ne*) and secondary (with -*ne*); object: primary (plus *ne* agent) and secondary (minus *ne* agent); verb: agent-oriented and object-oriented. The classification of the agent-oriented verb, secondary object, and primary agent was motivated by subject-verb agreement, whereas the classification of the secondary agent, primary object, and object-oriented verb was prompted by the consideration of object-verb agreement. This classification reflects a failure to determine the underlying governing factor in subject-verb and object-verb agreement. It fails to explain whether the subject-verb agreement is governed by the primary agent, the secondary object, or the agent-oriented verb. Further, the classification fails to mention that only two combinations out of a total of eight possible ones are permitted in Hindi. The two permitted combinations are (1) primary subject, secondary object, and agent-oriented verb, and (2) secondary agent, primary object, and object-oriented verb. The failure of the subclassification to point out the interdependency of the three elements in question together with the nonexistence of six of the combinations makes the above subclassification system vacuous and circular. In addition, their equation of the object-oriented intransitive verbs with *bhāv-pradhān kriyā* (neutral verbs) as well as with *karma-pradhān kriyā* (object-oriented verbs) is also not free from circularity.

The rule formulation of first-language grammars had its own interesting problems. These grammarians left out a large amount of information from the structural description of their rules on the assumption that native speakers would not have any difficulty in supplying the missing information. A case in point is the formulation of some rules by Ethrington and Shrīlāl to capture the process of suffixation in Hindi verbs. The main structure of their argument is as follows. If a verb root ends in the *hal* sign, it takes suffixes x, y, and z to generate different tenses. Notice that the rule is formulated with special reference to the graphemic representation of a verb root; however, its intended meaning refers to the phonetic representation of a root. Since Hindi verb roots are almost never marked graphemically for the *hal* sign, the rule has to be interpreted as a root ending in a consonant as the result of the application of the general rule of the word-final schwa syncope rule. Since the existence and precise nature of the rule are far from clear even to twentieth-century grammarians or historians of Hindi,[173] an enormous burden was placed on readers to arrive at the intended meaning of the rule. This practice of rule formulation was quite widespread among the first-language grammarians.

Although the problems of linguistic attitudes and grammatical errors influencing the selection and recording of data persisted in both grammar types, they were too infrequent to deserve any mention. Other problems, namely, the letter-based approach to the treatment of Hindi phonetics and the imposition of non-Hindi grammar models on the description and analysis of the language, lingered on. The problem of terminology gained its dinosaur shape during this era of Hindi grammar. Terminological variations arose, not because of special needs or innovations on the part of the grammarians, but because of the idiosyncracies of personal choice. No attempt was made to justify either the creation of new terms or the rejection of old ones. Two main shortcomings which marred the terminological innovations of the era were equivocation between two or more than two terms and ambiguity involving the terms. The latter problem turned out to be more serious than the former, because it produced multiplicity of meaning or reference. These problems have already been dealt with in the descriptions of the individual grammars, so they will not be detailed here. However, what needs to be stressed is that even the core grammatical terminology was open to ambiguity. To give an example, consider the terms "active" and "neuter" verbs. For some grammarians the terms were synonymous with transitive and intransitive verbs, respectively; however, for others, they referred to the active and stative verbs, respectively. In addition, some terms were especially sensitive to the prescriptive considerations of the traditional grammars and thus were used in the specialized sense attributed to them in this period. Consider, for example, the use of the Sanskritized terms *praclit* (frequent), *apraclit* (infrequent), *svabhāvik* (natural), and *asvabhāvik* (unnatural, artificial). These terms lost their main meaning and were used by grammarians in the sense of standard usage, nonstandard usage, native, and nonnative/borrowed vocabulary, respectively.

Vast improvement is noticeable in terms of the attitudes of European and Indian grammarians toward Hindi and its speakers. Derogatory terms such as

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[173] According to Chaudharī, the assumption of roots or nouns ending in the *hal* sign is misleading, especially in the context of nineteenth-century Hindi because all the instances of the *hal* sign reported by Shrīlāl and Ethrington were treated as instances of the presence of the vowel *a* by poets and the literary community of that time. This practice was followed without exception during the course of counting mātrās of a meter. *HVI*, p. 247.

"Moorish" bid farewell to Hindi grammar forever. However, sometimes the term "dialect" was used instead of "language" to refer to the major vernaculars of India, including Hindi. The works of grammarians such as Sir Monier Williams and Platts show that Indian views on Hindi had become an object of scholarly exchange. But in spite of this significant shift, some residual form of negative attitudes remained. From observations made by Platts it appears that in the view of some British scholars Indian grammarians were still unqualified for the task of formulating rules for their own language. This judgment was made on attitudinal grounds; no attempt was ever made to substantiate this claim.

Most of the problems pertaining to linguistic analysis of the language were caused by the general tendency of traditional grammars to take into account only the surface structure of the language in their analysis. The grammars of the era are, in general, subject to the limitations of this conception of language.

### 4.3.3 *Significance and Accomplishments*

The relatively slow movement in the progression of Hindi grammar during the first half of the era was compensated for by its rapid growth during the second half. Tremendous progress was made in two directions: important gains were made in terms of conceptual, methodological, and terminological innovations on the one hand, and old topics received broader, bolder treatment on the other.

The major contribution of a theoretical nature was the establishment of the nondiscreteness of linguistic categories. The grammarians stressed that no clear-cut line of demarcation exists between categories. Proper nouns may act like common nouns under some pragmatic conditions or in conjunction with other linguistic elements. Similarly, they recognized that the distinction between categories of nouns and verbs is not valid in the absolute sense because verbs in fact participate in the process of nominalization and vice versa. This realization contributed to their insights in the area of phonetics, namely, in the gradation of phonetic features. The shared sounds of Hindi and English were not equated with the absolute correspondence of phonetic features. The shared sounds were also perceived differently in terms of the degree of a phonetic feature.

Among the theoretical concepts inherited from their predecessors, the grammarians of this period felt no attachment to the notion of invariable rules and the concept of concise and elaborate structures. However, the concept of government not only found acceptance but also was extended to capture the behavior of dative as well as ergative verbs.

The emergence of first-language grammars brought about an important methodological innovation in Hindi grammar. Instead of employing the direct observation method of collecting data and then attempting to account for that data, Hindi (Indian) grammarians set out to account for the intuitions of native speakers by way of capturing their own intuitions about the language.

The grammars were quite ahead of their time in terms of analytical technique. Whenever conditions dictated, an attempt was made to capture the relationships between two linguistic forms rather than treating them independently of each other. Such an analytical approach led the grammarians to capture the derivational relationships between some of the classes of Hindi pronouns. Opting for formalism similar to that of structural linguistics, they chose to derive the manner and quantitative pronouns from the oblique forms of the interrogative pronouns and third person pronouns. Similarly, they made systematic attempts to capture the formal derivational relationships between semantically related but phonetically distinct verbal forms rather than merely list them individually. The progress made in sentence parsing techniques is evident from a comparison of the techniques employed by Garcin de Tassy and Schultz (left to right linear sentence parsing) with Ethrington and Shrīlāl. The latter utilized the techniques of analytic grammars, that is, segmenting a sentence into subject and predicate phrases and then subjecting the phrases to constituent analysis.

With regard to their contributions to the description of the language, notable advances were made in the area of Hindi phonology. The existence of some rules, such as the retroflex flap formation rule, was pointed out for the first time, and pioneering attempts were made to investigate morpheme structure sequential constraints in Hindi. The discussion of morpheme structure sequential constraints and the retroflex flap formation rule have recently begun to attract the attention of linguists with advances in generative phonology. In the area of syntax and semantics, the grammarians are credited with initiating the debate over the question of acceptability and grammaticality of a sentence. The first-language grammarians took an especially keen interest in this question. Their analysis led them to postulate three conditions for the acceptability of a sentence. These three conditions, largely borrowed from the Mimānsaka theory of meaning, had great importance in the history of Hindi grammar. They initiated the practice of sentence classification in Hindi grammar and began to provide insights on developing new criteria for such classification.

In addition to the existing model of English grammar, the Sanskrit grammatical model (native paradigms) was firmly introduced into the Hindi grammatical tradition. This lead to new analytical, classificatory, and terminological innovations. Comparative-contrastive statements led to better descriptions of the language, but the process of terminological innovations stimulated by borrowing and coining terms from the Sanskrit tradition met with limited success. To cope with growing demands for accurate syntactic analysis, tree diagrams (*kriyā vriksha*) were introduced for the analysis of Hindi verbs or sentences. Needless to say, this practice has striking similarities with the practice of drawing trees in transformational generative grammar. Tables were utilized intensively and effectively to summarize complex linguistic details.

In addition to undertaking the task of describing the language, the grammarians embarked on a new area, termed language modernization in current sociolinguistic literature. Grammarians such as Ethrington argued that Hindi does not have to rely for lexical innovations either on Arabic-Persian or on English because it has a rich lexical stock of its own and a prosperous inheritance from Sanskrit. Forbes deemed it necessary to introduce the punctuation system of English in order to equip Hindi to undertake a modern role.

The grammars are valuable for further linguistic, historical, applied and sociolinguistic research because of their important insights on etymological and geographical variability and pedagogy. The grammar of Shivprasād deserves special mention for its unique attempt to develop a unified grammar of "Hindi" and "Urdu." The British grammars have particular importance for researchers of language testing in Hindi.

CHAPTER FIVE

# THE SILVER AGE

## THE KELLOGG ERA (1876-1920)

The nineteenth century is an era of comparative and historical study of languages, especially of Indo-European languages.[1] At the beginning of the Kellogg era, Hindi grammar set out to employ the theoretical and methodological insights of comparative and historical linguistics in a more systematic and serious fashion than had been done before. Advances made by the scientific study of the Aryan languages of India in the works of Beames,[2] Trumpp,[3] Turner,[4] and Hoernle,[5] together with Sir George Grierson's monumental *Linguistic Survey of India*, promised a new phase of grammatical activity in Hindi. The impact of this linguistic revolution on language investigation left little doubt in the minds of Hindi scholars that from now on the course of Hindi grammar would be determined closely and consciously by developments in linguistic theory. A glance at the grammars written during this period support this claim. The development of comparative and historical linguistics placed new demands on Hindi grammar, and scholars responded by updating their old works or by writing new ones, blending the old prescriptive model with the new model.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the concern of native grammarians for language standardization induced new life into grammatical activity. Although the problem of language standardization was not a new one, it emerged now more as a public issue than as the concern of a narrowly defined group of grammarians. Hindi grammarians sought the opinion of other scholars and concerned native speakers.[6] The openness, seriousness, and even the bitterness of the debate added a new chapter to the history of Hindi grammar.

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[1] R.H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics*, Bloomington, Indiana, University Press, 1967, see chapter seven, pp. 164-192.

[2] John Beames, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, (1872-1879)*, three volumes, London, Trübner & Co., 1872-1879.

[3] E. Trumpp, *A Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, Trübner & Co., 1872.

[4] Sir Ralph L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, Oxford University Press, 1966.

[5] August Frederick Rudolf Hoernle, *A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian (Aryo-Indian) Languages With Special Reference to the Eastern Hindi*, London, 1880 [Reprint, Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1975].

[6] Pandit Ambikādutta Vyās, for instance, invited the opinion of various scholars on the question of whether or not the case markers (*vibhakti*) should be written separately from the noun or pronoun they follow. A summary of the opinions and an analysis of their arguments are presented in *Vibhakti vilās*, Bhagalpur, 1890.

The debate was reincarnated by an article on language and grammar by Mahāvīr Prasād Dvivedī, the editor of the renowned Hindi journal *Sarasvatī.*[7] The article decries the lack of agreement over grammatical rules and language use. Dvivedī was especially disturbed by those writers who imposed Sanskrit, Persian, or English structures on Hindi and who depended on translational methods. The article called for a set of prescriptive rules to achieve homogeneity of language use in Hindi. The irony, however, is that in the process of trying to rectify the problem, Dvivedī himself fell victim to the attacks of prescriptivists. In a series of articles, Bālmukunda Gupta took satiric aim at some of Dvivedī's usages, for example, *anasthirtā* (instability). These articles were written under the pen name of Ātmārām and were published in the journal *Bharatmitra*. The debate developed bitter overtones with the publication of Govind Nārāyan Mishra's article, *Ātmārām kī ṭẽ ṭẽ* (the babblings of Ātmārām).

Grammatical activity gained more vigor and tempo as the Hindi language developed further roots in the educational, administrative, and legal sytem of India.[8] And the emergence in 1873 of yet another volunteer organization, Kāshī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, gave further impetus to the Hindi language and its grammar-related activities.

## 5.1 *Grammars and Grammarians*

### 5.1.1 *First-Language Grammars*

The contributions in this era began with the grammar of Ayodhyā Prasād Khatrī (1877). Although the number of grammars skyrocketed, the qualitative growth was by no means proportionate to the quantitative growth. The grammars of Bhārtendu Harishcandra (1875), Govinddeo Shāstrī (1879), Munshī Bansīlāl (1879), Pandit Mandan Mohan (1880), Mohan Lāl (1886), Dīnānāth De (1886), Rāmcharan Singh (1887), Sudhākar Divedī (1890), Ambikādutta Vyās (1890), Nārāyan Shāstrī Patvardhan (1897), Kāmtā Prasād Guru (1900), Mohan Lāl Vermā (1901), Kesheo Rām (1903), Shyām Sunderdās (1906), Bābū Gangā Prasād (1907), Mānikyachand Jain (1907), Badrīnārāyan Singh (1910), Kanhaiyā Lāl Upādhyāy (1910), Rāmāvatār Sharmā (1910), Bābū Bhagwān Prasād (1913), Adhyāpak Rāmratna (1914), Rām Dahan Mishra (1918), and Ambikā Prasād Vājpeyī (1919) are deeply indebted to the grammar of Shrīlāl.[9] Although these grammars rarely acknowledge their predecessors, their examples, descriptions, and classification schemes are essentially identical (often totally identical) to those of Shrīlāl.

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[7] Mahāvīr Prasād Dvivedī, "Bhāshā aur vyākaraṇa," *Sarasvatī*, Nov. 1905, Vol. 6, N°. 11.

[8] In 1881, the Devanāgarī script was admitted in the language of courts in Bihar. In 1900 it gained acceptance in the legal and administrative affairs of the Northwestern Provinces.

The main goal of the above grammarians was to write a short and concise grammar for schoolchildren and college students. Their works fall in one or more of the following patterns: (1) Historical-comparative: Patterned after Kellogg, the works of Singh (1887), Divedī (1890), and several others heavily utilize historical-comparative information in their description of the language; (2) Unified Hindi-Urdu grammar: The grammar of Shivprasād was a model for this type. Khatrī (1877) and Shyām Sunderdās (1906), for example, attempted to write a single grammar of Hindi-Urdu. With the exception of the separate treatment of script and syntax, the remainder of their work is devoted to the core grammar of the "two languages" in question; (3) Functional: As a part of the modernization of the language several grammarians felt the need for teaching new styles of discourse to their students. The grammar texts written by Patvardhan (1897) and others paid considerable attention to teaching current methods of writing letters to government officials; (4) Analytic grammar: The grammars of Gokul Prasād (1893), Guru (1900), Shyām Sunderdās (1906), and Rāmratna (1914) belong to this group of grammars which aim at "teaching grammar by means of performing sentence analysis." Departing from the traditional format of presenting the definitions of the parts of speech, they first give examples and present an analysis of them; (5) Critique-oriented grammars: Grammatical texts such as those by Singh (1887) and Vyās (1890) incorporate an extensive critique of their works by other scholars. The critique was invited by the author himself and it provided an ideal opportunity for focusing on the controversial aspect of his treatment of a topic. Although the critique may be provided in the form of footnotes and remarks, it very often overshadows the main text.

Harishcandra (1875), Prasād (1913), and Rāmratna (1914) deserve special consideration because of the originality of their presentation or analysis, their substantive contributions, or their charismatic personality.

### 5.1.1.1 Bhārtendu Harishcandra, *Prathama hindī vyākaraṇa* (1875)

Harishcandra's short grammar (approximately 20 pages long) is best remembered for its poetic touch.[10] The grammarian occasionally makes use of his literary ability to present an insightful and novel treatment of Hindi grammar. A case in point is his classification of the verb into two classes: the

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[9] For references, see Chaudharī, *HVI*, Appendix I, pp. 680-687.

[10] Bhārtendu Harishcandra, *Prathama hindī vyākaraṇa*, Bankipur, Biharbandhu Chapakhana, 1875.

*anubhava* (experiential) verbs which refer to "happening, occurring," i.e., the *to be* verb in examples such as *kām hotā hai* (the task occurs/happens/takes place); and the *kriti* (action/creation) verbs which refer to "doing." They are in turn of two types because they can take two distinct agents: the *kartā* (direct agent) and *parnishṭha kartā* (indirect agent).[11] The concept of an indirect agent refers to the causee of a causative sentence. Harishcandra's attempt to distinguish between *anubhava* and *kriti* verbs represents one of the earliest attempts to capture the notion of nonvolitional and volitional verbs. Another example of his originality can be seen in his treatment of the imperative. In addition to the traditional classification of imperatives into *vidhi* (direct) and *nishedhātmak* (prohibitive), Harishcandra stresses that a third type of *udāsīn* (neutral) imperative is needed to account for such sentences as *cāhe kar yā na kar* (if you wish do it, otherwise do not do it).[12]

### 5.1.1.2 Bābū Bhagvān Prasād, *Hindī vyākaraṇa* (1913)

Although Prasād's grammar is rarely recognized by historians, it offers one of the most original and insightful analyses of Hindi verbs and sentences.[13] Its most important contribution is its extensive and multiple use of the concept of *pūrak* (filler/complement).[14] *Pūrak* is defined as an element which is necessary for the completion of a sentence. Compare the two intransitive verbs *dauṛnā* (to run) and *jān paṛnā* (to appear) in the following two sentences: (1) *rām dauṛā* (Ram ran) and (2) *ram jān paṛtā hai* (Ram appears). Notice that some intransitive verbs such as *appear* do not render a complete sentence with a subject. In order for the sentence to be complete, it requires a nominal or an adjectival constituent, as in the sentence (3) *rām laṛkā/syānā jān paṛtā hai* (Ram appears to be a boy/wise). Further, two types of *pūrak—kartā pūrak* (subject complement) and *karma pūrak* (object complement)—are postulated, and they are exemplified by sentences (4) and (5), respectively. (4) *Mohan rājā hai* (Mohan is a king) and (5) *Rājā ne mohan ko mantrī banāyā* (the king made Mohan his minister). In these last two sentences the underlined elements refer to the subject and object *pūrak*, respectively.

### 5.1.1.3 Adhyāpak Rāmratna, *Vākya vishleshaṇa aur pada paricaya* (1914)

Rāmratna's linguistically oriented text represents one of those few works of Hindi grammar which acted as a catalyst for independent inquiry in the area of

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[11] Ibid., p. 4.

[12] Ibid., p. 12.

[13] Bābū Bhagvān Prasād, *Hindī vyākaraṇa*, Shivpur, 1913.

[14] The concept had been employed earlier by Guru (1900), who used terms such as *pūrti*, *vidhey pūrak* (predicate complement). However, the concept was used only in the context of sentence analysis and not as a criterion for classifying parts of speech.

Hindi syntax.[15] It focuses attention on the structural analysis of the Hindi sentence and phrase. A Hindi sentence embodies five types of *pad* (phrases) which are identified as *visheshya pad* (nominal phrase), *visheshaṇ pad* (adjectival phrase), *sarvanām pad* (pronominal phrase), *avyaya pad* (adverbial or indeclinable phrase), and *kriyā pad* (verb phrase). From a structural viewpoint, sentences are classified into three types: *saral* (simple); *jaṭil* (complex), which involve the process of sentence subordination; and *mishrit* (mixed), which are derived as the result of coordination. An example of Rāmratna's syntactic analysis of the sentence *kartavyashīl vyakti kabhī pavitra ādarsha nahī̃ chorṭe* (industrious men never give up their sacred ideals) is given in Diagram 1.[16]

*DIAGRAM 1*

| *uddeshya* (subject) | | *vidheya* (predicate) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *prakrit* (noun) | *parivardhak* (modifier) | *karma* (object) | | *vidheya* (predicate) | |
| | | *pratham karma* (direct object) | *visheshaṇ* (adjective) | *prakriti vidheya/kriyā* (natural predicate/verb) | *parivardhak vidheya/visheshaṇ* (modifier/adj.) |
| *vyakti* (person) | *kartavyashīl* (industrious) | *ādarsh* (ideal) | *pavitra* (sacred) | *nahī̃ chorṭe* (not) (leave) | *kabhī* (ever) |

### 5.1.2 *Second-Language Grammars*

The works of the following nonnative scholars made their mark: Kellogg (1876, 1893), Palmer (1882), Keegan (1883), Kempson (1890), Schultz (1894), Ranking (1895), Greaves (1896, 1908), Tagliabue (1898), Vinson (1899), and Phillott (1909). The works of Keegan, Schultz, Tagliabue, and Vinson were written in Latin, German, Italian, and French, respectively.

### 5.1.2.1 British and North American Grammarians

#### 5.1.2.1.1 Rev. S.H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindī Language* (1876/1893)

First published in 1876, the second revised edition[17] became a landmark study and won the unanimous acclaim of both native and nonnative scholars of Hindi grammar. Now approximately one century old, it still commands the respect of scholars for being unmatched in several ways.

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[15] Adhyāpak Rāmratna, *Vākya vishleshaṇa aur pada paricaya*, Agra, Karonetion Press, 1914.

[16] Ibid., p. 10.

[17] In the second revised edition, three more dialects—Māgadhī, Maithilī, and Nepālī—were added to the ten dialects presented in the first edition, and several sections and tables pertaining to Bhojpurī and Rājasthānī were modified and supplemented. The brief section entitled "Dialectic Peculiarities" of the first edition was enlarged into an independent chapter. Most important, the philological notes were either thoroughly revised or rewritten in the light of subsequent historical and comparative linguistic studies of the North Indian languages. Considerable changes were also made to improve accuracy and readability. The examples from *Prem sāgar* were replaced by examples from two new works—Rājā Lakshman Singh's Hindi translation of Kālidās's *Shakuntalā*

According to Kellogg, the grammar was written with three goals in mind: One, to present a complete account of the "actual colloquial and literary language of the Hindus of North India."[18] Two, to account for the nature and extent of dialect variation in Hindi. And three, "not merely to reproduce, under a new arrangement, the matter of grammars previously existing, but rather to supply their omissions and supplement their defects."[19] In the view of his contemporaries and succeeding grammarians, Kellogg indeed accomplished his goals.

The Devanāgarī script, which had been gradually losing ground to Perso-Arabic and the Roman script, regained its prominence in this work. In addition to presenting an exhaustive treatment of the Devanāgarī script, Kellogg also considers three other indigenous scripts—Kaithī, Mahājanī, and Baniautī. An attempt was made to classify Devanāgarī letters purely on structural (graphemic) grounds.[20] Variations in Devanāgarī letters and native speakers' value judgments (especially negative judgments) about some variations are also dealt with. For instance, regarding the practice of using अै at the beginning of a word instead of the letter ऐ (*ai*), Kellogg remarked that the former was viewed as ill formed by native speakers and should be rejected.[21]

The general format of the grammar is as follows: First, the synchronic account of grammatical categories is presented, a discussion of their origin follows, and, finally, dialect forms and dialect variation are outlined. The dialect forms and variation are accounted for with special reference to the standard, Kharī bolī Hindi.

Kellogg classified Hindi sounds into five main groups: vowels, mutes, nasals, liquids, and sibilants. His use of the term "mute" is synonymous with the modern-day term "obstruent." The "mutes" are further subgrouped into hard and soft letters. Using the criterion of manner of articulation, hard consonants are defined as the sounds produced with the breath completely arrested. However, if the breath is partially arrested or allowed to escape freely, the

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and Lālā Shrī Nivās Dās's *Raṇdhīr and Prem Mohini*—because of the artificial and localized language of *Prem sāgar*. See Rev. S.M. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindī Language in which are treated the high Hindī, Braj, and the Eastern Hindī of the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsī Dās, also the colloquial dialects of Rājputānā, Kumāon, Avadh, Rīwā, Bhojpur, Magadha, Mithilā, etc., with copious philological notes*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1893 (Rev. Ed.) [Reprint by the same publisher 1955]. Preface to the second edition, pp. v-ix. All citations are to the 1955 reprint edition.

[18] Ibid., p. xiv.

[19] Ibid., p. xvii.

[20] The letters were classified into two groups—variable (ending with a vertical stroke ा, e.g., घ, ग) and invariable (lacking a ा stroke, e.g., the retroflex consonant letters).

[21] Kellogg, op. cit., p. 5.

resulting sound is called soft.[22] The classification of hard and soft sounds largely corresponds with unvoiced and voiced, respectively.

Kellogg employs a single criterion, point of articulation, to classify Hindi consonants as well as vowels. Observe his classification of the vowels: gutturals: *a*, *ā*; palatals: *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ai*; and labials: *u*, *ū*, *o*, *au*.[23] On the basis of the point of articulation of the second segment of the diphthong, *ai* and *au* are identified as palatal and labial, respectively. Although he admits the diphthongs in question are potentially related to gutturals because they share the first segment *a*, it is the point of articulation of the second segment that receives primary consideration in his classification. Rev. Ethrington on the other hand, who had earlier adopted the same classificatory criterion for vowels, identified *e* and *ai* as guttural-palatals and *o* and *au* as guttural-labials because he took the point of articulation of the first segment of the four diphthongs into consideration as well. In other words, Ethrington and Kellogg are in agreement with respect to the phonetic value of *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au*, but Kellogg's labels are sensitive only to the second segment of the diphthongs, whereas Ethrington's reflect the point of articulation of both segments.

In the area of phonetics, Kellogg initiated a discussion on the topic of suprasegmental features in Hindi by way of introducing a new topic he called "accent." The treatment of Hindi accent is restricted to some comparative-contrastive remarks on Hindi and English. It is noted that the presence of Hindi accent is less strongly marked than in English. For this reason, he advises his English-speaking learners to avoid the "strong accentuated English style" and instead "to give to every long vowel in the unaccented syllable its full quantity."[24]

One of the direct consequences of comparative-historical methods was that the topic of the development of the Hindi language became an object of more serious and detailed investigation. Kellogg devoted an entire chapter to this topic, during the course of which he identifies the nature of the lexical stock of the language and addresses some problematic areas. Attacking the purist position taken by Ethrington and by native Hindi grammarians, he rightly points out that any deliberate attempt to exclude Perso-Arabic words from Hindi is counterproductive because even literary Hindi, let alone the spoken style, is not free from such influence. To substantiate his claim, he presents a list of Perso-Arabic words used in Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas*.

Regarding the question of the instrumental role of Sanskrit in introducing retroflexion in Hindi, he takes issue with Sir Monier Williams, who claimed that the retroflex sounds which Hindi had received from Sanskrit are probably derived from the aboriginal dialects.[25] On the basis of the word count in such texts as *Prem sāgar* Kellogg attempts to show that the above claim was inadequate. Of the words beginning with retroflex sounds, only twenty-one are pure Sanskrit and sixty-eight are Prakrit words; whereas, of one hundred and twenty-eight words beginning with *k*, twenty-one are of Prakrit origin and one hundred and seven pure Sanskrit. In other words, three-fourths of the words beginning with retroflex sounds are from Prakrit; while of the words with an initial *k*, five-sixths are Sanskrit.[26] Thus, he concluded that the Prakrits played a more important role in the introduction of retroflexion in Hindi than did Sanskrit.

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[22] Ibid., p. 25.

[23] Ibid., p. 24.

[24] Ibid., p. 20.

Another previous topic which gained primacy in this work and succeeding ones is that of Hindi dialects. On the basis of three main criteria—lexical differences, grammatical (inflectional, conjugational) and syntactic differences (especially the use of the *ne-* construction), and etymological differences—Kellogg proposed the following classification of Hindi dialects: (1) the dialects of Rajputana: Mārwāṛī, Jaipurī, Mewāṛī, and Hāṛotī; (2) the Himalayan dialects: Nepālī, Gaṛwālī, Kumāonī; (3) the dialects of the Doab: Braj and Kannaujī; and (4) the pūrbi or Eastern dialects: Avadhī, Bhojpurī, Magadhī, and Maithilī.[27] To the last group the dialect of Old Baiswāṛī was also added owing to its literary importance as the basis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsīdās. High Hindi was considered to be the basis of "Hindustani" and "Urdu." Kellogg's views on the dialect boundaries of Hindi were very similar to the ones expressed by modern dialectologists who claim that the dialect boundaries do not tend to be sharp.

The notable aspects of his treatment of phonology are the following: One, an attempt is made to embody both the diachronic and the synchronic aspect of Hindi phonology. Two, the diachronic account of Hindi phonology aims at describing all the vowel, consonant, and consonant cluster changes which occurred during the course of its development. Three, at the synchronic level, variations in some important phonological rules are pointed out. For example, it is observed that the rule about dropping the word-final schwa is subject to geographical and stylistic variations. It does not occur, for example, in Eastern

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[25] Ibid., p. 38.

[26] Ibid. William's view about the origin of the retroflex sounds is not shared by John Beames and Hoernle. They postulate an original semiretroflex sound, which to use Hoernle's words, "varied in two directions so as to become the true retroflex and true dental, respectively." Hoernle, op. cit., p. 12. However, Kellogg tends to support Williams's theory because of his observation that the retroflex sounds prevail most in those sections of the Hindi-speaking area where, as in the Himalayas and the wastes of Rajputana, the aborigines, if not still remaining, may be supposed to have held the ground the longest.

[27] Ibid., pp. 65-66. Grierson does not include the dialects of Rajputana and the Himalayan dialects in his classification of the dialects of Hindi. The most narrow view of Hindi dialect is held by Chatterjī and Vājpeyī who equate Hindi dialects with the dialects of Western Hindi.

Hindi dialects and in the poetic style.[28] Four, the concept of gradation has been built into a rule. For instance, the rule about word-final schwa is neither totally present nor totally absent in the pronunciation of words such as *indra* (Indra) and *īshvaratva* (Godliness). The schwa is "slightly sounded after *r* or *v* in a final conjunct."[29] Five, the synchronic rules utilize grammatical as well as phonological information. For the rule under discussion it is further added that schwa is not dropped if the word is a denominative numeral, like *chauka* (four times) or *tina* (three), or if it is monosyllabic, like *na* (not).[30]

Kellogg's treatment of Hindi nouns is essentially similar to that of Forbes, Williams, and Platts. However, improvements are made by adding some explanatory notes on exceptions in Hindi gender. Whereas Kellogg's predecessors contented themselves with listing exceptions, such as names of mountains being masculine, he goes a step further and gives a probable explanation for the exception. In his view, names of mountains are probably masculine because the generic terms *parbat*, *giri*, etc., signifying mountain are masculine. So too the names of metals, stones, etc., are probably masculine because the common terms *dhātu* (a metal), *patthar*, *pāshāṇ*, etc. (a stone), *ratna* (a jewel) are masculine. The exception *cā̃dī* (silver) is explainable because it ends in *ī*, which is perceived as a feminine termination.[31] The grammarian rarely misses an opportunity to offer probable explanations, but at the same time he cautions his readers about the speculative nature and limited power of his explanation.

*TABLE 1*

BASE PRONOMINAL FORMS

| Case | Demonstrative | | Relative | Correlative | Interrogative |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Proximate | Remote | | | |
| Simple | *ya* | *va* | *ja* | *sa/ta* | *ka* |
| Oblique | *i* | *u* | *ji* | *ti* | *ki* |

The analysis of the pronouns deserves comment on three grounds: One, Kellogg observes that with the exception of the dialects of Rajasthan, Hindi pronouns have lost the gender distinction.[32] Two, extending the structural analysis of first-language grammarians such as Ethrington, Kellogg proposes the "pronominal base" given in Table 1 to derive other forms of pronouns.[33] This prominal base is not only posited to derive the simple and oblique forms of the various types of pronouns but is now also extended to arrive at the manner and locative adverbs. The locatives are derived by adding *-hā̃* to the nominative forms and the manner adverbs by adding *-sā*. In the latter case, the nominative base is subjected to further qualitative modifications which result in the *ai*, *vai*, *jai*, *tai* and *kai* forms. Three, commenting on the "short" and "long" dative/accusative and locative pronominal forms, it is observed that the "short" forms such as *ham ko* (to us), *tum par* (on you), *un ko* (to them) and their corresponding "long" forms *hamõ ko*, *tumhõ par*, and *umhõ ko* can coexist in Hindi. The coexistence of the so-called short and long forms had been observed by Adams and others, but it was Kellogg who first pointed out their correct distribution; that is, the long forms are restricted to a plural signification and are not preferred in high Hindi.[34]

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[28] Ibid., p. 11.

[29] For further details about gradation, see ibid., p. 10.

[30] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[31] Ibid., p. 85.

[32] Ibid., p. 168.

In Kellogg's view, verbs are inflected for voice (active and passive), mood (indicative, imperative, subjunctive, infinitive), tense, number, gender, and person.[35] In addition, there are three participles (perfect, imperfect, and conjunctive) and seven irregular verbs, *honā* (to be), *marnā* (to die), *karnā* (to do), *denā* (to give), *lenā* (to take), *jānā* (to go), and *ṭhānnā* (to determine). His classification of the tenses is given in Table 2. Although this classification appears similar to that of Forbes and Williams, a close examination reveals that in addition to formal considerations, the grouping of tenses is particularly sensitive to the aspectual system of the language. In group I, the action has not yet begun; in group II, the action has begun but is not yet completed; and in the last group, the action is completed.[36]

Holding a radically different view from his predecessors, Kellogg stresses that the notion of the compound verb in Hindi is misleading because none of the proposed classes are true compound verbs but grammatical combinations of a conjunctive participle, a verbal noun, or a substantive with a verb.[37] Nonetheless, for reasons of "convenient reference," he addresses himself to the topic. To the list of the twelve classes of compound verbs proposed by Platts, Kellogg adds another subclass, "progressives." He disputes the earlier analysis of treating compound verbs formed with both *rahnā* (to keep on) and *jānā* (to go on) as a single class, "continuatives." Kellogg felt that the two types were not mutually interchangeable and that compound verbs with *jānā* denote a slightly different meaning of "steadily progressing or advancing."[38] Among

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[33] Ibid., p. 169.
[34] Ibid., p. 172.
[35] Ibid., p. 221.
[36] Ibid., p. 228.
[37] Ibid., p. 258.
[38] Ibid., p. 269.

*TABLE 2*

TENSES

| Tenses derived from | | |
|---|---|---|
| Root Group I | Imperfect Participle Group II | Perfect Participle Group III |
| 1. Contingent Future<br>*kahū̃* (I may say) | 1. Indefinite Imperfect<br>*kahtā* (I would say) | 1. Indefinite Perfect<br>*kahā* (I said) |
| 2. Absolute Future<br>*kahū̃gā* (I will say) | 2. Present Imperfect<br>*kahtā hū̃* (I say) | 2. Present Perfect<br>*kahā hai* (I have said) |
| 3. Imperative<br>*kaho* (say) | 3. Past Imperfect<br>*kahtā thā* (I used to say) | 3. Past Perfect<br>*kahā thā* (I had said) |
| | 4. Contingent Imperfect<br>*kahtā ho* (I may be saying) | 4. Contingent Perfect<br>*kahā ho* (I may have said) |
| | 5. Presumptive Imperfect<br>*kahtā hū̃gā* (I must be saying) | 5. Presumptive Perfect<br>*kahā hogā* (I must have said) |
| | 6. Past Contingent Imperfect<br>*kahtā hotā* (were I saying) | 6. Past Contingent Perfect<br>*kahā hotā* (had I said) |

the proposed thirteen subclasses, he paid particular attention to the previously neglected class of "nominals."[39]

The semantics of causative verbs fascinated Kellogg more than their morphology. According to him, sometimes the causals convey the sense not of causing an action but of allowing it to take place or of causing it to continue. He offers the following two sentences to support his point: *nakh kesh baṛhāye . . . sab rājā khaṛe hokar bintī kar rahe the* (the nails and hair allowed to grow, all the kings were standing and making supplication) and *māre mariya jīyāye jījai* (if he kill thee, die; if he save thee alive, live).[40]

Kellogg made an attempt to set up a relationship between the passive voice and the *ne*- construction. He termed the *ne* sentences the "passive construction" and distinguished this from the "actual passive voice." About the use of the actual passive voice in Hindi, he notes that the construction is employed chiefly in the following two cases: (1) When the agent is unknown or is not to be definitely mentioned. This explanation is aimed at capturing the generalization that Hindi passive sentences are generally agentless. (2) It is "elegantly" used with a negative to express "impossibility," as exemplified by sentences such as *is kā bhed jānā nahī̃ jātā* (the secret of this is not known). When intransitive verbs are made passive as well, they are termed "neuter passive" and convey the meaning of capability.[41]

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[39] Ibid., pp. 271-278.
[40] Ibid., p. 479.
[41] Ibid., p. 478.

In Kellogg's view, the syntax of a language can be analyzed under two separate components—analytical and synthetic. Under the former component, the form and function of grammatical categories and noncategorical constructions (such as ergative, dative, etc.) are analyzed; whereas under the latter component, a formal or constituent analysis is carried out. A simple sentence is classified into two main parts: subject and predicate. Five elements may form a subject in Hindi: (1) a noun or pronoun in the nominative case, (2) two or more nouns or pronouns in the nominative, (3) an adjective or numeral used substantively in the nominative, (4) an infinitive, or (5) any phrase or sentence, or the subject may be omitted.[42] The predicate of a Hindi sentence may be (1) a verb, (2) a noun or pronoun either in the nominative or in an oblique case, (3) an adjective, (4) a numeral, or (5) any word or phrase used as a noun.[43] The analysis of the subject and predicate slot is based on the surface structure of a sentence and follows an approach similar to that of the taxonomic-descriptive approach of structural linguistics which makes use of the concepts of substitution, extention, and classification.

For the first time, a systematic attempt is made to classify compound sentences. The proposed classification is given in Table 3.

*TABLE 3*[44]

COMPOUND SENTENCES

| Coordinate sentences | Subordinate sentences |
|---|---|
| 1. Copulative (with connectors such as *aur* [and], *bhī* [too]) | 1. Substantive (with *ki* [that]) |
| 2. Adversative (with connectors such as *lekin* [but]) | 2. Relative (with marker *jo*) |
| 3. Disjunctive (with connectors such as *yā* [or]) | 3. Adverbial (with markers such as *jahā̃*) |
| 4. Causal (with connectors such as *is liye* [therefore]) | |

Kellogg's missionary orientation influenced his choice about the themes of his data. Most of his examples center on the themes of God, God's knowledge, soul, truth, man. His data also reflect a traditional bias against women. Observe the following examples in this regard: *aisā sāhas karnā nārī ko ucit nahī̃* (it is not seemly for a woman to be so daring), *swāmī bin strī ko marnā hi bhātā hai* (for a woman without a husband, it is well even to die).[45] In general, the shortcomings of Kellogg's grammar are minor—printing errors, etc. From the viewpoint of twentieth-century researchers, Kellogg made several classificatory and analytical errors in his treatment of Hindi. However, in the light of nineteenth-century research it was one of the most advanced analyses of Hindi.[46] The impact of this grammar is so great that succeeding traditional grammars as well as modern linguistic investigations owe a great deal to Kellogg for their findings. His successors, native and nonnative alike, such as Kāmtā Prasād Guru, Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, and Edwin Greaves, expressed their debt to this work.

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[42] Ibid., p. 497.

[43] Ibid., p. 499.

[44] For details see ibid., pp. 511-535.

[45] Ibid., p. 404.

### 5.1.2.1.2 Edwin Greaves, *Hindi Grammar* (1896/1921)

This work is a second landmark of this era. First written in 1896, it was subjected to revision in 1908. An entirely new version of the grammar appeared in 1921.[47]

The primary goal of Greaves's grammar was to aid English-speaking missionaries in India and to pave the way for beginners to study the more serious and advanced grammar of Kellogg. Thus Greaves simplified his work by restricting it to the standard dialect of Hindi, Khaṛī bolī. A brief notice of Braj Bhāshā and Urdu was also incorporated in the grammar wherever it was deemed necessary. Etymological notes were also eliminated from the grammar. Data were drawn from such modern Hindi writers as Bhārtendu, Roshan Lāl, and Pandit Shraddhā Rām Fulerī.

The grammar has three distinct properties: One, its design is overwhelmingly sensitive to "the grammatical conventions of the Hindi language."[48] Two, because of Greaves's serious concerns about the adequacy of existing translations of the Bible into Hindi, utmost attention is paid to the problems of translating English into Hindi. The most important and urgent problem was whether or not to use the pronoun *tū* as a reference to Christ.[49] Three, in order to stress the independent nature of Hindi grammar, a new format is followed. Each chapter opens with Hindi grammatical terms and their English equivalents. For the first time several standardized terms used by native Hindi grammarians receive importance in a grammar written for English speakers. In addition to Hindi grammatical terms, the basic divisions and subdivisions proposed by the native Hindi grammars are also followed. An exhaustive index of Hindi grammatical terms is provided at the end.

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[46] For one of the most uncharitable reviews of Kellogg's grammar, see Chaudharī, *HVI*, p. 339. Chaudharī claims (1) Kellogg's successors did not follow his model for their works, (2) the grammar was unsuitable for students, (3) it is full of errors, (4) it became unsystematic, confusing and complex in view of its bulky size, and that (5) being a foreigner Kellogg had no insights into the language. He also attacks the grammar for being written in English. Most of Chaudharī's comments lack depth, reflect his own bias and are unsubstantiated.

[47] Edwin Greaves, *A Grammar of Modern Hindi*, Banaras, E.J. Lazarus, 1896. 2nd Edition, rev. and enl., Banaras, B. Prasad, 1908. Hindi Grammar, Delhi, Asian Educational Service, 1921 [1933 edition]. All citations are to the 1933 edition.

[48] In order to justify using Hindi grammatical terms in a grammar written for an English-speaking audience, Greaves stresses that his use of terms related to the division and subdivision of Hindi grammar was not aimed at following traditional fanciful practices. "As this is a Hindi grammar of English-speaking students, it would be unwise to attempt to write it from a purely Hindi standpoint; at the same time it is believed that it will prove of considerable assistance to the student to have his attention directed to the divisions of grammar recognized by Indian grammarians to adopt, in some measure, their order in the presentation of the various matters to be considered and to give the technical terms which they use. The knowledge thus gained will be helpful in later reading and study." Ibid., p. 49.

[49] Ibid., p. 175.

In spite of the intended aim of writing a short and simple grammar, this work surpasses Kellogg's in terms of its grammatical detail and exhaustive treatment of Khaṛī bolī Hindi.

Following first-language grammarians, Greaves classifies grammar into three main divisions: the consideration of letters *(varṇa vicār)*, the consideration of words (*shabda vicār*), and the consideration of sentences (*vākya vicār*). Etymology and morphology constitute part of *shabda vicār*. The parts of speech also have three divisions: *saṅgyā* (nouns), *kriyā* (verbs), and *avyaya* (indeclinables/uninflected). *Saṅgyā* includes nouns, pronouns, and adjectives; *avyaya* includes adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, disjunctions, and interjections. Greaves supports the practice of Hindi grammarians of including disjunctions together with conjunctions in the class of *avyaya.*[50]

His approach to phonetics was essentially the same as that of his predecessors, that is, letter based. Phonetics is treated along with the Hindi alphabets because the alphabets are "peculiarly scientific. . . . Phonetics is no modern discovery in India."[51] Following Ethrington and Kellogg, Greaves adopts a uniform criterion for classifying vowel and consonant letters. With the exception of two differences, Greaves's classification and terms correspond with Kellogg's. First, as regards the point of articulation of the letters *e*, *ai*, *o*, and *au*, the first two are "gutturo-palatal" and the last two "gutturo-labial."[52] Second, the consonant *h* (ह्) is excluded from the class of sibilants and assigned a new class, "aspirate."[53] The new class is distinct from the class of aspirated consonants.

Expressing his disagreement with existing phonetic descriptions of retroflex sounds, Greaves observes that "the tip of tongue is rather broadened out and pressed against the palate rather far back, and then somewhat sharply brought away as the sound is uttered."[54] His description is different from others in that (1) a large area of the tip of the tongue is involved, (2) the point of articulation is further back in the palatal region, and (3) during the final phase of articulation the tongue rebounds sharply before coming to its rest position.

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[50] Ibid., p. 50.
[51] Ibid., p. 11.
[52] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[53] Ibid., p. 25.
[54] Ibid., p. 21.

Greaves dealt with topics of syllable, accent, and punctuation in more detail than any other grammarian of his time. He points out the importance of a *mātrā* in determining syllable boundary in Hindi. The Hindi *mātrā* consists of a vowel alone or of a consonant, simple or compound, with its accompanying vowel. According to him, no syllable ends in a consonant. In order to show the difference between the process of syllabification in Hindi and English, he selects the English word *insuppressible*. In English the syllabic division would be *in-sup-pres-si-ble*, whereas in Hindi *i-nsu-ppre-ssi-ble*.[55] Like Kellogg, Greaves acknowledges that accent in Hindi is not as common as in English, but it is by no means absent. Expressing his distress over earlier haphazard treatments of accent, he stresses the need for admitting the sentence- and word-level accent in Hindi. In his view the latter type of accent is not rule governed as it is in many languages including English.[56] To support his point he presents a table of Hindi words which follow highly irregular word-level accent, that is, no phonetic criterion seems to be capable of accounting for the accent in the words in question.[57] The failure of the phonetic criterion of *mātrā* leads him to examine another criterion—grammatical—which gives some encouraging results. He observes that in verbs the accent tends to fall on the stem rather than on the termination. Similarly, in the causative verbs, the accent falls on the second syllable of the stem.[58]

In spite of the admitted rule-governed behavior of the sentence-level accent, Greaves found himself unable to account for the phenomenon completely. There were a number of reasons for this. First and foremost was the sensitivity of sentence-level accent to meaning, as exemplified by the following sentences: *ye aur kisī kā nahī, u̱s̱ī̱ ḵā̱ hai* (it belongs to no one else, it is his), *ḵo̱ī̱ nahī̃ suntā* (no one hears), *na koī suntā na koī kartā* (no one listens no one obeys [does]). In the above sentences, the accent falls on the underlined words. In the last sentence no word receives any special accent. Furthermore, Greaves observed that sentence-level accent was subject to such variations as the structure of a sentence and the speaker's specific intonation.[59]

The topic of punctuation, which was considered alien to Hindi grammar until the end of the nineteenth century, was completely assimilated into this work. Greaves observed that during his time the original Hindi punctuation convention of *pāī* and *do pāī* used to mark the end of sentences and paragraphs, respectively, had already been replaced by the comma and the period, pronounced as *kāmā* and *fullisṭāp* by Hindi speakers. The use of the semicolon and colon was "very much less" current. He noted that although inverted commas and parenthetical marks were commonly used, the latter were often used incorrectly. As regards the writing system, the two scripts, Devanāgarī and Kaithī, are discussed in adequate detail.

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[55] Ibid., p. 26.
[56] Ibid., p. 41.
[57] Ibid., p. 44.
[58] Ibid., p. 43.
[59] Ibid., pp. 41-42.

Although the topics of morphology and Hindi parts of speech receive their fair share, it is the treatment of the verb which deserves special mention for its classificatory and descriptive novelty. The Hindi verb is classified into eight groups: (1) transitive, (2) intransitive, (3) neuter, (4) passive-neuter, (5) impersonal, (6) passive, (7) causal, and (8) compound.[60] The third type—neuter—refers to a stative intransitive verb, whereas the class of passive-neuter includes agentless intransitive verbs such as *hilnā* (to move), *ruknā* (to be stopped). Citing examples such as *peṛ hil jātā hai* (the tree shakes), Greaves argues that the verb is in the passive-neuter form because it makes no reference to a cause or an agent responsible for the shaking of the tree. The class of impersonal verb is posited to refer to those surface passive forms which indicate capability, as exemplified by *usse calā nahī̃ jātā* (he cannot walk).[61] Notice that the verb *calā jānā* is passive in form but not in meaning and is therefore treated as a candidate for the impersonal class.

With the notable exception of moods and compound verbs, Greaves's treatment of Hindi verbs and tenses is essentially derived from Kellogg. Greaves classifies compound verbs into the following three main divisions: 1. Close compound verbs: in this group two verbs are joined to express one verbal idea. 2. Loose compound verbs: in which each verb retains, more or less fully, its own proper meaning. 3. Noun-verbal compound verbs: in which the first member is a noun or occasionally an adjective or an adverb.[62] Greaves put the class of compound verbs termed "intensives" by his predecessors into the first division.[63] With the exception of the nominals, the remaining classes postulated by his predecessors were placed in the second division. As regards Hindi mood, he recognizes its existence but notes that it is not customary to arrange Hindi tenses according to mood and Hindi grammar even lacks a term for it.[64]

Following Kellogg, Greaves devotes a separate chapter to prosody. On the basis of the overwhelming importance of verse in Hindi literature, he claimed that prosody should be treated as an integral part of Hindi grammar.[65]

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[60] Ibid., pp. 306-307.

[61] Ibid., p. 306.

[62] Ibid., pp. 329-333.

[63] Kellogg regards the first element of the class of intensive compound verbs as the conjunctive participle, Kellogg, op. cit., p. 33. However, Greaves favored its treatment as the simple stem, as there is nothing of the force of the conjunctive participle in the use of the first verbal element, Greaves, op. cit., pp. 330-331.

[64] Ibid., p. 236.

### 5.1.2.2 European (Non-British) Grammarians

#### 5.1.2.2.1 Camillo Tagliabue, *Grammatica della lingua indostana o Urdu* (1892)

Tagliabue's grammar is one of the earliest attempts to write Hindi grammar in the Italian language.[66] The grammar displays the properties of the pre-Gilchrist grammars but has a unique organization. Divided into three parts, orthography, etymology, and sentences (syntax), it treats the following topics under etymology: nouns, pronouns, verbs, indeclinables, numerals, and derivatives. The term etymology is misleading, since no attempt is made to account for Hindi parts of speech at the diachronic level. The third part of the text covers postpositions, participles, idioms, and verbal paradigms. About two hundred and forty-one pages long, the grammar is not particularly noteworthy from the point of view of developments in Hindi grammar during the nineteenth century.

#### 5.1.2.2.2 Martin Schultz, *Grammatik der hindustanischen Sprache* (1894)

Martin Schultz's grammar, writtten in German, was greatly influenced by the works of John Shakespear, Ballantyne, and Tassy.[67] The influence of Tassy is restricted to Hindi sentence parsing. In addition to the admitted influence of Shakespear and Ballantyne, the impact of Kellogg is evident in Schultz's classificatory scheme of Hindi parts of speech. For example, the classification of tenses owes more to Kellogg than to any other grammarian of Hindi. Following Shakespear, Schultz analyzes the ergative *ne* as an instrumental marker.

#### 5.1.2.2.3 Julien Vinson, *Manuel de la langue Hindoustani (Urdû et Hindî)* (1899)

Written in French, Julien Vinson's *Manuel de la Langue Hindoustani* exhibits more sophistication toward general linguistic theory than any other Hindi grammar of the nineteenth century.[68] Appearing seventy years after the work of Tassy, its theoretical orientation is particularly apparent in his review of earlier grammars and in his attempt to provide a general linguistic framework for language-specific analysis. Vinson criticizes his French predecessor Tassy on three grounds:[69] Tassy's grammar begins with the writing system rather than with the sound system of the language. Two, the concept of "empiricism" is "over-used" in the text. By this Vinson means that too many language-specific phenomena are presupposed by Tassy and the burden of uncovering them is left to students. Three, the terminology employed is inappropriate. In addition to a general linguistic theory, Vinson stresses the need for incorporating the comparative-historical linguistic methodologies of his time into Hindi grammar. Furthermore, he calls for departing from prescriptive tendencies in order to incorporate nonstandard varieties of the language.

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[65] Ibid., p. 442. Greaves acknowledges that the best treatment prior to his was by Kellogg and stresses that the scope of the topic is so wide that it deserves an independent volume. He himself devoted thirty pages to it.

[66] Camillo Tagliabue, *Grammatica della lingua indostana o Urdu*, Rome, Ermanno Loescher, 1892.

[67] Martin Schultz, *Grammatik der hindustanischen Sprache*, Leipzig, Verlog von Karl Scholtze, 1894.

Vinson accounts for the linguistic situation in India with special reference to the typological features of languages proposed by August Schlegel. In addition to presenting a typology of the Indian languages, Vinson attempts to set up a correlation between certain linguistic features and a language-deficient hypothesis. For instance, he associates the twenty-based numeral system of Munda languages with a "sign of age and social inferiority."[70]

In Vinson's view, the grammar of a language is composed of phonetics (the term phonetics is used in a wider context to include both phonetics and phonology), morphology, syntax, and semantics. During his treatment of phonetics he notes that the Indian writing system is best suited to construct the phonetic system of the language. He notes discrepancies between the letters and the sound or sounds represented by them. His reliance on written records to construct the sound system is similar to the methodology of historical linguists. His articulatory description of Hindi sounds comes close to the treatment of the topic by Kellogg and Greaves. He was one of the handful of Hindi grammarians who stressed the importance of accent in Hindi.[71]

The most innovative part of the grammar is the section on morphology. Having stated that Hindi morphology has been neglected by his predecessors, Vinson presents two formal diagrams summing up what he considers to be the deeper analysis of verbal and nominal morphology[72] (See Diagram 2.)

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[68] Julien Vinson, *Manuel de la langue Hindoustani (Urdû et Hindî) grammaire, textes, vocabulaires*, Paris, J. Maisonneuve, 1899.

[69] Ibid., p. ix.

[70] Ibid., p. xxi.

[71] Ibid., p. 12.

[72] Ibid., p. 21.

### *DIAGRAM 2*

$$V = R'vm\,[(t \left\{\begin{matrix} p \\ a \\ f \end{matrix}\right\})(e \left\{\begin{matrix} p''\left\{\begin{matrix} s \\ r \end{matrix}\right. \\ l \end{matrix}\right. \left\{\begin{matrix} d \\ i \end{matrix}\right\})]$$

$$N = R'\,l \left\{\begin{matrix} s \\ r \end{matrix}\right. \left\{\begin{matrix} d \\ i \end{matrix}\right.$$

where:
V = verb; R' = radical (stem); v = voice; m = mood; t = tense; p = past; a = present; f = future; e = space; l = location; p'' = person; s = subject; r = case; d = direct; i = indirect or oblique and N = noun.

Notice that nominal morphology forms a subset of verbal morphology. According to Vinson, the notion of number and gender is built into the element *s*. However, having explained the abbreviation of the symbols, he makes no attempt to show the derivation of a noun or verb phrase in the language.

His analysis of the Hindi case system is quite distinct from Tassy's in two respects: First, he postulates two cases for Hindi—nominative and oblique—and notes that the other cases are expressed by postpositions. Second, rather than observing the actual use of postpositions, Vinson is more concerned with why it is that a particular ending or postposition came to represent an old case.[73]

Vinson describes Hindi personal pronouns as either the first or second pronoun. The third person is replaced by the demonstrative pronouns.[74] Dialectal and historical variants of the different classes of pronouns are also enumerated.

Vinson views the difference between adjectives and nouns as purely syntactic. Adjectives are analyzed as the qualitative use of nouns to which suffixes are sometimes added. He notes that comparatives are expressed syntactically rather than morphologically. The adjectives also include pronominal adjectives and numeral adjectives. Adjectives such as *itnā* (this much), *utnā* (that much), and *jitnā* are derived from the "demonstrative pronouns" *ye* (this), *vo* (that) and *jo* (relative pronoun), respectively. This analysis of the quantitative pronouns is similar to that proposed by Shrīlāl, Ethrington, and Kellogg.

Vinson's treatment of the Hindi verb and sentence is greatly influenced by Kellogg and the first-language grammarians of the preceding era. In particular, his account of tense and compound verbs owes much to Kellogg, and the discussion of *prayogas* (constructions) is essentially derived from native grammarians. Nonetheless, the grammar maintains its individuality. Instead of the four moods postulated by Kellogg, only one mood, the indicative, is retained by Vinson.[75] The passive is treated here as a type of compound verb. The class of desiderative and continuative *paṛhtā jānā* (to go on reading) is admitted, but serious doubts are raised about the status of reiteratives, inceptives, permissives, and acquisitives as compound verbs.[76]

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[73] Ibid., p. 34.
[74] Ibid., p. 46.

Having described the formal notion of the three *prayogas* Vinson explains that the function of *kartā*, *karma*, and *bhāv-pradhan prayog* is to focus the subject, object, and verb, respectively, of a sentence.[77] He cautions his readers on the distinct behavior of transitivity in Hindi.

Syntax does not receive its fair share, as Vinson abruptly ends his discussion with the remark that the best way to learn how to write a language is to construct its syntax by oneself by studying carefully written texts. He adds no further comment on the topic but instead provides sample texts. With the exception of one passage, the texts are in the Devanāgarī script. Unlike Tassy, he offers no translations, but vocabulary is provided. An appendix reviews some notions of Arabic and Persian grammar.

Although this grammar deserves a special place in the history of Hindi grammar, it unfortunately remains unacknowledged by historians.

### 5.1.3 *Discourse-Oriented Manuals and Grammars for Special Purposes*

The grammars of Simon Kempson and John Tweedie belong to this category.[78] Although several manual-style grammars had previously been written containing texts, exercises, and dialogues dealing with special topics, what distinguishes Kempson's and Tweedie's manuals is that they are discourse oriented, that is, their target is to go beyond the sentence level. To achieve this goal, they develop a unique methodology. In order to aid their learners in arriving at the correct interpretation or translation of a Hindi sentence, Kempson and Tweedie provide a set of detailed but ad hoc instructions or aids which are sensitive to a given discourse rather than to a sentence alone.

#### 5.1.3.1 John Tweedie, *Hindustani as it ought to be spoken* (1893)

John Tweedie's grammar begins with a very interesting note.[79] It is the only grammar which claims to have been written "at the request of ladies, so that no apology for its appearance is called for. Their complaint was that no book exists from which they can gain a complete and correct knowledge of the Hindustani language suited to their daily requirements."[80] The grammar aims at providing functional knowledge of the language and also makes some candid remarks on the language-learning environment of the time. In addition, it has a diagnostic goal in mind. Tweedie observes that during the nineteenth century, by far the greater number of English men and women in India spoke under the name of Hindustani a language peculiar in grammar and pronunciation. The native grammarians recognized the existence of such a variety and labeled it either Anglo-Hindustani or missionary Hindi. In order to expose his learners to Hindustani as it ought to be spoken, Tweedie presents data from this variety and corrects it. This turns out to be one of the most important assets of the grammar because data on this variety are today quite rare.

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[75] Ibid., p. 71.

[76] See ibid., pp. 77-78.

[77] For details, see ibid., pp. 92-95.

[78] Simon Methews Edwin Kempson, *The Syntax and Idiom of Hindustani*, London, Crosby Lockwood & Sons, 1890. Since this work is essentially similar to that of Tweedie, it is not detailed here.

[79] John Tweedie, *Hindustani as it ought to be spoken*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1889, 2nd ed., 1893, 3rd. ed., 1900. All citations are to the 1900 edition.

From an examination of the data presented by Tweedie, it is clear that Anglo-Hindustani was a pidginized variety of Hindi which had gained currency among the English. For instance, they employed expressions such as *kit* (servant) from *khidmadgār*, *beasty* from *bihishtī*. And it appears that expressions such as "call my baboo" were used to mean "call my writer." Tweedie notes that Anglo-Hindustani was also referred to as *chī chī bolī* (ugly, nasty speech) but for patriotic reasons he warns his readers that the expression *chī chī* must never be used to describe any of Her Majesty's subjects or their dialects![81]

Departing from the traditional format, the work is designed somewhat along the lines of modern sociolinguistic or situational-response functional grammars which teach how to say "thanks," "hello," "someone is not at home," etc., in Hindi. It aims at teaching precise language use, for example, how to use Hindi expressions such as *khair*, *sāhib*, *salām denā*, *salām karnā*, and *salām bolnā*. To this end, linguistic as well as sociolinguistic constraints (participant, listener, discourse-related restrictions) are analyzed. For example, in explaining the use of the word *khair*, Tweedie writes, "We, in telling a story often begin a sentence with the exclamation 'well!' Natives, in like circumstances often end a sentence in the same way. Their word is *khair*."[82]

### 5.1.3.2 George S.A. Ranking, *A Guide to Hindustani* (1895)

It was the third revised and enlarged edition of Ranking's work which gained importance in the history of Hindi grammar.[83] After a century-long pause, grammars for special purposes came back to life and vigor with this work. More extended in scope than Gilchrist's works in this area, the grammar sets out to present the most frequent and widely used phrases in two professions, military and law. Lists of expressions bear such titles as charge sheet, list of crimes, charges, offenses, punishments, court-martial and medical. Exercises in reading and translations of Devanāgarī and Perso-Arabic manuscript samples dealing with military and law constitute more than half the grammar.

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[80] Tweedie, op. cit., p. x.

[81] Ibid., p. 57.

[82] Ibid., p. 56.

[83] George S.A. Ranking, *A Guide to Hindustani, specially designed for the use of officers and*

The grammar also aims to teach students how to draft official Hindi letters and documents. For example, Ranking provides a specimen of court-martial Hindi: *ek jarnal korṭa mārshal ke ruba-ru, jo aprail kī untīswin tārikh, san aṭṭhārah sau unhattar, maṅgal ke roz siālkot kī chhāonī jamā huā, rām singh havaldār is jurm par pesh kiyā gayā* (at the General Court-Martial assembled at Sealkote, on Tuesday, the 29th April 1869, Havaldar Ram Singh was arraigned).[84]

### 5.1.3.3 Munshi Thakardass Pahwa, *The Modern Hindustani Scholar* (1919)

Pahwa's work is valuable because of its exhaustive treatment of military Hindi.[85] A collection of sentences grouped under the headings: enrollment questions, drilling exercise and musketry, recruiting, leave and furlough, camping, and offences, makes this grammar one of the best contributions by an Indian scholar in the area of Hindi for special purposes. The section entitled "Ellipis" presents an insightful discussion of optional deletion processes in Hindi syntax.[86]

### 5.1.4 *Multiple-Language Grammars*

The two notable grammars in this area were written by Palmer[87] and Tisdall.[88] Both present a collection of the grammars of Hindi, Persian, and Arabic. The works in question do not represent any progress over the type of grammar written during the previous period.

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*men serving in India, including colloquial phrases in Persian and Roman character and a collection of arzis, with translation in Roman-Urdu, and English translations*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1895 [3rd rev. and enl. edition].

[84] Ibid., p. 111.

[85] Munshi Thakardass Pahwa, *The Modern Hindustani Scholar or the pucca munshi*, Calcutta, The Baptist Mission Press, 1919.

[86] Ibid., pp. 429-431.

[87] E.H. Palmer, *Simplified Grammar of Hindustani, Persian and Arabic*, London, Trübner & Co., 1881 [2nd ed., 1885].

[88] Rev. W. St. Tisdall, *A Conversation-Grammar of the Hindustāni Language, Heidelberg, Julius Groos, 1911*. The grammar is in three parts and the second and the third part is devoted to Persian and Arabic grammar, respectively.

## 5.2 *Conclusion*

### 5.2.1 *General Properties*

In terms of the quantity and quality of the grammars, this period was the most distinguished thus far. The grammars inherited some important features of the previous era. Diversity of scholarship, format, and medium continued. Master Hanumān Prasād wrote a grammar in the question and answer format,[89] and Rev. Buddhen was the second European to use this format in a work written in Hindi.[90] An important contribution was made by North American grammarians. Among the Europeans, the British, French, and Germans remained active. Hindi and English continued to be the preferred medium of the grammars. The tradition of writing multiple-language grammars and unified grammars of Hindi-Urdu gained further strength. And the special purpose grammars went further and took the shape of modern-day discourse-oriented functional grammars.

The topic of prosody not only became an integral part of Hindi, but gained so much prominence that some grammarians devoted an independent volume to it. One of the offshoots of the introduction of comparative and historical methods was the systematic inclusion of the classification and discussion of Hindi dialects and a history of the Hindi language. These topics were not new but from now on they are considered worthy of independent chapters. Comparative-historical methods provided an ideal setting for the inclusion of data from old and medieval Hindi texts.

The first-language grammars, although still in an early stage, developed quickly. On one hand, they depended heavily on second-language grammars for the historical treatment of Hindi and on the other hand, they took keen interest in structural analysis at the synchronic level. Consequently, as second-language grammars exhibited overwhelming preference for historical-comparative methods, first-language grammars became more and more synchronically and structurally oriented. In this way they again complemented each other. As far as the treatment of Hindi parts of speech was concerned, the distance between the first- and second-language grammars was reduced to insignificance.

The Devanāgarī script, which had been losing ground to the Perso-Arabic script, regained its preferential status. In addition to Devanāgarī, other Indic scripts such as Kaithī became important. Similarly, the term "Hindi" became the favorite choice of both native and nonnative grammarians to refer to the variety of language under investigation.

In addition to historical and comparative methods, the influence of Sanskrit and English grammars was still quite evident.

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[89] Master Hanumān Prasād, *First Instructor in Hindi and English*, Banaras, Amar Press, 1888.

[90] Rev. J.H. Buddhen, *Hindī bhāshā kā vyākaraṇa*, Mirzapur, 1878 [6th Edition].

### 5.2.2 *Problems and Shortcomings*

The grammarians of this period were much better equipped to recognize, analyze, and solve their problems than their predecessors, primarily for three reasons: (1) the emergence of sophisticated linguistic methods, (2) further relaxation in the flow of information between native and nonnative grammarians, and (3) the centrality of Kellogg's grammar. Earlier problems about tenses, participles, and compound verbs were solved to their satisfaction. The nagging problem of terminology was finally overcome, as Kellogg's grammar was used to set standards in the description of the language and the selection of grammatical terminology.

The three main problems recognized by the grammarians themselves were the following: (1) the question of whether to adopt *vyākaraṇa-sammata* (grammatically adequate) or *uccāraṇa-sammata* (phonetically adequate) pronunciation of Hindi words, (2) how to judge the adequacy of the notion of primary and secondary subjects adopted by grammarians of the previous era, and (3) how to account for the "accent" system of Hindi. They managed to solve the first two problems to their satisfaction. Regarding the first, they observed that neither the grammatically oriented nor the phonetically oriented approach to the Hindi lexicon is free from shortcomings, but for prescriptive reasons they decided to favor the grammatically oriented approach. This led them to favor standardized forms over nonstandardized ones and provided them with a convenient excuse for disregarding variation in the language. As regards the second problem, Ambikādutta Vyās, for example, accepted the validity of the notion in principle; however, he took exception to the treatment of the *ne*- subjects as secondary subjects. In his view, the notion of secondary subjects was restricted to passive subjects.

The most serious challenge was posed by the third problem. Nonnative grammarians attached overwhelming importance to the question of accent, whereas native grammarians chose to ignore it altogether. There were three main reasons for the lack of progress in this area: failure to distinguish clearly between word- and sentence-level accent; inability to distinguish between contrastive and noncontrastive stress; and inability to distinguish between accent, stress, and intonation.

Although the phenomena of oversimplification and circularity continued to plague the grammatical explanations of native grammarians, the frequency of such explanations was significantly reduced. Their overreliance on comparative-historical methods led them to formulate their rules in diachronic terms. Consequently, with the notable exception of Kellogg, they seriously neglected the process of rule formulation at the synchronic level. Remaining problems were caused by the limitations of the linguistic theory of their time. For example, grammars such as Kellogg's can be characterized as multidialectal grammars, but they made no attempt to account for the pandialectal competence of Hindi speakers.[91] Although their analysis of the language became relatively more abstract than that of their predecessors, in the end it was still largely a surface analysis.

### 5.2.3 *Significance and Accomplishments*

Systematic investigations into the diachronic aspect of the language filled another important gap in the understanding of Hindi grammar. In addition, conceptual, analytical, methodological, and terminological innovations acted to spur the healthy growth of the tradition.

Two concepts of a theoretical nature specific to this era were the notion of *pūrak* (complement) and the interaction of phonology with grammar. The former notion enabled grammarians to explain the existence of sentences such as *kallu beḍhab cāl calā* (Kallu walked [with] a crooked gait) in which an intransitive verb takes a noun predicate. This notion also enabled them to explain why such sentences as *usne pānḍu ko banāyā* (he made Pandu) and *ram ko jān parṭā hai* (appears to Ram) are ill formed. These two sentences require a *pūrak* to be grammatical. The insertion of *rājā* (king) in the former and a word such as *aisā* (it/such) in the latter yields a correct sentence. The notion of *pūrak*, though not totally free of errors, serves as an important classificatory criterion for grammatical categories. As regards the interaction of the grammatical and phonological components of the language, the grammarians demonstrated that the phonological rules of Hindi require grammatical information for their successful application. Among their inherited theoretical conceptions, they found the notion of government and nondiscreteness of linguistic categories particularly useful.

Their postulation of three case markers, zero, *ne*, and *se* (by), for the nominative case lends support to the idea that they were on the verge of developing the concept of deep structure, whereby the surface passive agents originate as underlying subjects of active sentences. The discourse-oriented grammars or manuals present evidence that they attempted to develop ad hoc analytical tools to account for the phenomenon of Hindi discourse. Although some residues of religious-colonial attitudes were still visible, they now served as assets to analysis of the language. A case in point is the dilemma of Kellogg and Greaves regarding the choice of an appropriate form of pronoun to refer to Christ. This led to some insights on translation techniques.

A specific methodological innovation of this era was opinion surveys. To find the most acceptable solution to a controversial problem, grammarians invited the opinions of other scholars and then evaluated the arguments for and against an issue before arriving at a conclusion. A case in point is the controversy over the writing of case markers free or bound with preceding nouns.

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[91] For further details, see Tej K. Bhatia, "Variation in Hindi: problems and prospects," *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, Urbana, University of Illinois, Vol. 13, N°. 2, 1984, pp. 1-19.

With the above innovations, terminological requirements and the need for an adequate graphic representation also grew. Terms such as *pūrak* (complement), *kartā pūrak* (subject complement), *karma pūrak* (object complement), *apūrṇa sakarmak* (incomplete transitive, i.e., transitive verbs which require a *pūrak*) gained currency during this era. As regards graphic representations, they did not adopt the tree diagrams of their predecessors. Instead, their analysis of Hindi sentences exhibited overwhelming preference for diagrams similar to the ones drawn under immediate constituent analysis.[92]

In spite of their shortcomings, the grammars of this period were ahead of their time in terms of their treatment of Hindi syntax. They signal the imminent growth of structural grammar in Hindi.

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[92] For details on immediate constituent analysis, see Winfred P. Lehmann, *Language: An Introduction*, New York, Random House, 1983. See esp. the section "Syntax in Analytic Grammars," pp. 88-90.

CHAPTER SIX

# THE GOLDEN AGE

## THE MODERN ERA (1920 TO THE PRESENT)

In the 1920s began the golden age of Hindi grammar. That era turns out to be the most versatile studied thus far because of its ever-increasing productivity, diversity, and innovation. In view of the unique leadership offered and the wide variety of grammatical models adopted, one can say that Hindi grammar experienced several turning points in a relatively short span of time and thus made its entry into the modern age not simply on temporal but also on developmental grounds.

The first important turning point was the publication of a grammatical text by the century's most celebrated traditional grammarian—Kāmtā Prasād Guru. Guru, and to some extent his successor Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, succeeded in creating an optimistic climate that awakened the interest of native Hindi scholars. Their leadership not only promised a new phase of native scholarship in the area of first-language grammar but, more important, the first major step toward the search for the Pāṇini of Hindi grammar. In this way, their leadership proved psychologically rewarding. In fact, Guru had such an overwhelming and lasting impact in the area of first-language grammar that some historians believe, mistakenly though, that he pioneered the Hindi grammatical tradition.

Other turning points coincided primarily with theoretical and methodological developments in modern linguistics. In the light of the growing influence of modern linguistics on language investigation worldwide, the influence of linguistics on the analysis of the Hindi language is not surprising. However, what needs to be stressed is that the magnitude of this impact was so strong that Hindi grammar had to adopt a dual path to sustain its growth and to keep up with developments in linguistics. On the one hand, it adhered to its old path of writing traditional grammars while assimilating the influences of developments in linguistics into the description of the Hindi language, while on the other hand, it embarked on a new path of writing independent linguistically/theoretically oriented modern grammars. Once this two-way growth began, both parts proceeded hand in hand. Because of its later development, Hindi grammar entered a phase of (hyper-) specialization which required the knowledge of modern linguistic theories on the part of its creators and readers. I use the term *hyperspecialization* because in modern linguistically/theoretically oriented descriptions, every component of the language—phonetics, phonology, syntax—is subjected to further specialization as dictated by the subbranches of linguistics.

The rapid and all-around progress registered during this period cannot be attributed to developments in modern linguistics alone. The vitality gained by such research was also due to the further spread of the language. Hindi gained further prominence and status for the following reasons: (1) It became the symbol of national unity during the independence movement against the British Rāj, thus providing further boost to its prestige nationally and internationally. (2) The emergence of yet other volunteer agencies such as Dakshiṇ Bhārat Hindī Pracār Sabhā (in 1927) and Rāshṭrabhāshā Pracār Sabhā identified a new group of second-language learners—non-Hindi speakers in India—and promoted grammar writing and reading activities in Hindi. (3) Hindi was recognized as the national language of India by the Constitution of India. (4) It was accepted as one of the languages of higher education in India. (5) Language-planning and reform movements were introduced to promote systematic and rapid acquisition of Hindi by nonnative speakers of Hindi in India.

## 6.1 *Traditional Grammars since the 1920s*

With the further spread and recognition of Hindi in a national as well as international setting came a boost in the growth of first- as well as second-language grammar.

### 6.1.1 *First-Language Grammars*

Both native and nonnative grammarians continued to contribute in this area. The first-language grammars now outnumbered second-language grammars and had succeeded in asserting their independence from the latter. Among the notable grammarians, the following seven reigned over the tradition: Kāmtā Prasād Guru, Dhīrendra Varmā, Bābūrām Saxenā, Rām Chandra Vermā, Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, Āryendra Sharmā, and J.M. Dimshitz. The last three grammarians represent the post-independence phase of traditional Hindi grammars. The only nonnative grammarian to gain significant importance during this era is Dimshitz.

#### 6.1.1.1 Kāmtā Prasād Guru, *Hindī vyākaraṇa* (1920)

Prior to the publication of his landmark grammar, *Hindī vyākaraṇa*, Guru wrote a number of books, the majority of which fall in the category of creative Hindi writings. Although three of these books dealt with Hindi grammar,[1] they failed to earn him recognition as a grammarian primarily for two reasons: (1) They were too narrow in their scope as well as in their intended audience. They were either written for schoolchildren or restricted themselves to sentence analysis alone. (2) In the view of historians they suffered from dialectalism.[2] What caught the attention of Hindi scholars were his articles published in *Sarasvatī* dealing with different topics in Hindi grammar. These articles brought forth Guru's real potential as a grammarian. Consequently, in 1915, the executive committee of Kāshī Nāgari Pracāriṇi Sabhā invited Guru to fill an important gap in the Hindi grammatical tradition by writing a "good and comprehensive" grammar in the Hindi language. The Sabhā had already embarked on this project, but its earlier attempts did not particularly succeed in spite of the announcement of an attractive reward, a gold medal, for the author of such a grammar.[3] Five years after his acceptance of the invitation, Guru submitted his manuscript.[4] The Sabhā appointed a committee of distinguished scholars to evaluate this "draft" and also invited an outside evaluation from several Indian scholars.[5] Finally, the draft was subjected to revision in the light of the comments and suggestions received and was published in 1920.[6] A few months before his death in 1947, Guru made a further revision of his grammar which was published a quarter of a century later by the Sabhā.[7]

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[1] The complete titles of these works are as follow: *Hindī bāl bodh vyākaraṇa*, Bararas, Medical Hall, undated (1901-1910?). *Sahaj Hindī racnā*, Lucknow, Munshi Naval Kishore Press, 1911. The

The grammar is a well-researched piece of work. It demonstrates a great deal of familiarity with the earlier as well as contemporary grammatical literature on Hindi, Marathi, and English. The Marathi grammars by Dāmle and Kāḷe and Hindi grammars by Platts and Kellogg had a particular impact on the general makeup of this grammar. Of these four works, Dāmle's grammar had the strongest influence. Guru states in his introduction that the grammar by Dāmle had a significant impact on his analysis of the language, classificatory

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third work, which deals with sentence analysis/segmentation alone, is *Bhāshā-vākya-prithakkaraṇa* Banaras, Chandra Prabha Press, 1900.

[2] Instead of using the standard Hindi verb forms, Guru frequently uses dialectal forms such as *jivāī*, *karāī*, etc. See Chaudharī, *HVI*, p. 465.

[3] The Sabhā did single out the grammars of Gaṅgā Prasād and Rām Karṇa Sharmā for their special merit among the several submitted for the award and awarded one hundred and fifty rupees to each grammarian.

[4] It was published by Ganpati Gurjar under the same title as the later version approved by the Sabhā: Kāmtā Prasād Guru, *Hindī vyākaraṇa*, Kashi, Lakshami Narayan Press, 1920.

[5] In addition to Guru, the other members of the committee were Pandit Mahāvīr Prasād Dvivedī, Pandit Rāmāvatār Sharmā, Pandit Chandradhar Sharmā "Gulerī," Rāi Bahādur Pandit Lajjā Shankar Jhā, Pandit Rāmnārāyana Mishrā, Bābū Jagannāth Dās "Ratnākar," Bābū Shyām Sundardās, Pandit Rām Chandra Shukla, Pandit Govind Nārāyan Mishra, and Pandit Ambikā Prasād Vājyeyī.

[6] According to Chaudharī, its actual publication date was 1921, *HVI*, p. 466. The exact reference of the Sabhā's approved version is Kāmtā Prasād Guru, *Hindī vyākaraṇa*, Varanasi, Kāshī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, 1920.

[7] See the tenth edition of the above title, 1972.

scheme, and rule formulation techniques.[8] Guru also notes that his work is patterned primarily after English. In defense of his choice, Guru refers to the long history of the influence of English and English grammarians on the Hindi grammatical tradition. Although he does not detail the extent of English and Marathi influence, an examination of his text reveals that the English influence is restricted to (1) positing eight parts of speech, (2) analysis of the Hindi sentence (particularly immediate constituent type analysis), and (3) his extension of observations about English parts of speech to the treatment of Hindi parts of speech, where deemed necessary. Except for occasional reasons of pedagogical convenience (e.g., postulating eight parts of speech) Guru never borrows his analysis from English without seriously evaluating its relevance for Hindi. Thus the grammar is largely free of the shortcomings of those pioneering second-language grammars in which the model of English grammar overwhelmed Hindi.

The most striking feature of the grammar is its nonpuritan approach which has resulted in a blend of three models of grammar—Sanskrit, Modern Indic (Marathi, to be precise), and English. The text demonstrates its complete familiarity with the state of grammar-related developments in Hindi and other Indic languages. It takes keen interest in theoretical topics (such as defining parts of speech, classification and subclassification of Hindi constituents) and competes with Kellogg's grammar in being a scholarly reference grammar. It exhibits such as deep concern for detail that it is difficult to dispute the observation of the advisory board that no detail has been left out of the grammar.[9] Guru did, in fact, set out to examine every known detail, primarily about the written form of Hindi.

On the surface the grammar shows significant advancement over its predecessors in terms of the progression of grammatical thought. However, Guru cannot take full credit for these achievements. A detailed examination of his work reveals that a large portion of the new insights is borrowed from his contemporaries.[10] For example, in the area of phonetics, a comparison of his treatment of the Hindi accent system with his predecessors shows a definite improvement over Kellogg and Greaves. But the six new rules he posits are due largely to Dāmle. In fact, the first three rules are direct translations of their corresponding Marathi version in Dāmle.

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[8] See Guru, *HV*, Introduction, p. 1. The title of Dāmle's work is *Shāstriya marāthi vyākaraṇa*. Pune, Damodar, Sawlaram and Company, 1911.

[9] See the page entitled *Vyākaraṇa sanshodhan samiti kī sammati* (The opinion of the committee responsible for the revision of the grammar), in Guru, *HV*. The page is not numbered.

[10] Guru does not claim his work to be original in any serious sense. He credits himself for its exhaustive nature. Regarding its originality, he states that "perhaps" (*sambhavatah*) it is an original work too. Guru, ibid., Introduction, p. 2.

The treatment of morphology (prefixes and suffixes) and morphophonemics is borrowed essentially from Kāḷe (Marathi) and Ethrington, respectively. Guru's treatment of Hindi parts of speech is borrowed particularly from Ethrington, Kellogg, Jagannāth Chaturvedī, Ambikā Prasād Vājpeyī, Adhyāpak Rāmratna, Govind Nārāyan Mishra, Kālī Prasād Tripāthī, and Gangāprasād.[11]

The third component of the grammar, syntax, follows essentially the model of Kellogg. The first section deals with sentence formation whereas the second section deals with sentence analysis. The constituent analysis of a simple Hindi sentence is similar to that of Kellogg: the sentence is composed of subject and predicate, and the extension rules of subject and predicate are presented. The main distinction between Kellogg's and Guru's sentence analysis technique lies in the notion of *pūrti* or *pūrak* (complement). Following Bābū Bhagwān Prasād, Guru incorporates the notion of *pūrti*, overlooked by Kellogg, in his sentence analysis. The notion of coordination (*sanyukta vākya*) and subordination (*mishra vākya*) receives more detailed treatment in Guru than in Kellogg. It appears that the notion of relativization posed the most serious problem for Guru. His analysis of relative clauses reveals that the relative markers are analyzed simultaneously as *uddeshya vardhak* (subject elaborator or subject rewriting rules), *pūrti* (complement), and *sanyojak shabda* (conjunction). Similarly, he was uncertain whether to treat relative clauses as main clauses or subordinate clauses. In the nondiagrammatic analysis of a relative clause, the correlative clause is analyzed as the main clause and the relative clause as an embedding. However, this order is reversed in the diagrammatic treatment of the same sentence.[12] Although Kellogg and Guru used the notion of deletion (*lupta*) to account for the surface deletion of a subject (or predicate) in sentences such as *sunā hai* ([I] have heard), it was not extended to include the identical noun phrase of relative or correlative clauses, as is the case under the transformational-generative treatment of relative clauses in Hindi.[13]

From the above discussion, it is clear that Guru can be credited more for his in-depth research and familiarity with the existing grammatical literature than for the originality of his treatment. However, Guru's originality is evident in two contexts: (1) compulsion for details, as evident from his treatment of pronouns, and (2) defining grammatical categories. However, his originality is not without problems. For example, most of the critical reviews of the grammar agree that Guru's definition of the verb is original, but they also agree that it is opaque.[14]

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[11] For a detailed summary of Guru's treatment of the parts of speech, see Chaudharī, *HVI*, pp. 475-528. The specific influence of Guru's predecessors on the grammar is as follows: The classification of noun and pronoun is essentially derived from Ethrington. The discussion of Hindi gender is influenced by Kellogg and Jaggannāth Chaturvedī. The discussion of case is indebted primarily to Adhyāpak Rāmratna and secondarily to Govind Nārāyan Mishra. The discussion of compound verb, causal verb, and tenses is essentially obtained from Ethrington, Ambikā Prasād Vājpeyī, and Kellogg, respectively. The discussion of adjectives and adverbs is primarily obtained from Kellogg and Kālī Prasād Tripāthī.

[12] See the diagrams of the two relative clauses on p. 371, Guru, *HV*. For Guru's detailed constituent analysis, see pp. 360-61 and 370-76.

[13] See Y. Kāchru, "On relative clause formation in Hindi-Urdu," *Linguistics*, 1978, 207, pp. 5-26.

A general weakness of a nonlinguistic nature in Guru's grammar is that he sometimes places too much confidence and loyalty in Dāmle's work. This had led to some misconceptions about Guru's originality and command over his subject matter. For example, on the surface his treatment of the schwa syncope rule leaves the impression that it was a step backward. Guru's predecessors favored a three-way dichotomy with regard to the pronunciation of schwa in a word: the articulation of schwa in a word can be either complete (*pūrṇa*), incomplete (*apūrṇa*), or absent (*lop*). Guru does not employ distinct labels to pinpoint the last two types of articulation, that is, incomplete articulation or a total absence of schwa in a word. Instead, he choses one label—*apūrṇoccarit* (incomplete articulation)—to refer to both. This leaves the impression in the reader's mind that he failed to recognize the complete deletion of schwa in some contexts. However, Guru does recognize the total absence of schwa when he admits that the vowel *a* is pronounced as *hal* under some conditions,[15] but this observation is nowhere reflected by his labels. The discrepancy is due to his overreliance on Dāmle's accent rules. He faithfully translated not only Dāmle's rules but also his labels, namely, *apūrṇoccarit-a* (incomplete *a*), into Hindi even at the risk of creating ambiguity and misrepresentation of his thoughts on the rule. In other words, the label *apūrṇoccarit-a* is potentially ambiguous in the text, as it refers to both the complete deletion (*lop*) and slight articulation of the vowel *a*.[16]

In spite of its shortcomings the grammar became an instantaneous success and won the hearts and minds of the entire Hindi-speaking world. It is recognized as the most influential grammar of the twentieth century by historians of Hindi language and grammar. It has been adapted for different classes of learners and is widely used and imitated in and outside India.[17]

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[14] The verb is defined as *jis vikārī shabda ke prayog se ham vastu ke vishaya mẽ kuch vidhān karte hãī, use kriyā kahte hãī*, p. 84. According to Chaudharī, the term *vidhān* is opaque (see *HVI*, p. 490), whereas Bahri finds multiple ambiguity in it, see especially p. 41 of Hardev Bahri's article entitled "Kāmtā Prasād Guru kī vyākaraṇa sambandhī sthāpanāon kā mūlyānkan," in Veṇīshankar Jhā, et al. (eds.), *Kāmtā Prasād Guru, Shati-Smriti granth*, Kashi, Nāgari Pracāriṇi Sabhā, 1977, pp. 27-43. For further details on the shortcomings of Guru's definitions and classification, see Chaudharī, *HVI*, pp. 475-528; Bahri, op. cit., pp. 37-41.

[15] Guru, *HV*, pp. 26-27.

[16] Ibid., p. 30.

[17] The school grammar version *Sankshipta vyākaraṇa*, Kashi, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, 1920. (revised edition 1948). The twenty-third edition appeared in 1981 and is a concise edition of Guru

Recently it has also won the critical acclaim of transformational-generative grammarians of Hindi; no other first-language grammar is so widely quoted by them. It has earned the distinction of being the only Hindi grammar translated into Russian, and its translation into other European languages, particularly English, is eagerly awaited. According to the renowned historian of Hindi literature Pandit Rām Chandra Shukla, "it is the most exhaustive and authentic grammar of the Hindi language."[18] The grammar laid out "the rules" for treating syntax, parts of speech, parsing, spelling, and a number of other topics of Hindi grammar.

### 6.1.1.2 Pandit Jangabahādur Mishra, *Vākya vishleshaṇa* (1930)

Although neglected by historians, Mishra's *Vākya vishleshaṇa* represents one of the earliest grammars devoted to the independent study of Hindi syntax.[19] As regards the treatment of the language, it follows an approach that resembles modern linguistic work (structural and transformational-generative grammars) more than traditional grammars. Rather than providing a description of parts of speech, the grammar begins directly with sentence types. The sentence types are determined on the basis of form (simple, embedded, and coordinate) and function (interrogative, desiderative, exclamatory, etc.). The classification is not original in any serious sense; however, what is noteworthy are the techniques of sentence analysis. Mishra further perfected the constituent analysis of Hindi sentences presented by Guru and several other native and nonnative predecessors by eliminating their problematic areas (relative clauses are analyzed only as embeddings)[20] and presenting alternative analyses of sentences. But although alternative analyses are presented, their powers and shortcomings are left unanalyzed. For example, according to Mishra, the following sentence/paragraph can be subjected to two possible analyses. (1) *yadi manushya ṭhaṇḍe dimāg se soce* (If a person thinks with cool mind), (2) *to āshcarya hotā hai* (then it is surprising), (3) *ki manushya keval vicār bhed se* (that man either only for their difference of opinion), (4) *yā kisī nijī kārya ko alag ḍhaṅga par karne ke kāraṇ* (or because of attempts to solve one's personal matters with a different style), (5) *ek dūsre kī jān ke dushman ban jātā hai* (one becomes enemy of each other), (6) *parantu jise ham āshcarya kahte hãĩ* (but what we call it a surprise), (7) *vahī prāyah satya hotā hai* (that turns out to be

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(1920). A more concise version of this grammar appeared under the title *Madhya hindī vyākaraṇa*, same publisher, 1923. Its fifteenth edition appeared in 1979. The most abridged version of the main grammar by the same publisher is entitled *Pratham hindī vyākaraṇa*, 1923.

[18] Quoted from Veṇīshankar Jhā, et al. (eds.), op. cit., see preface, p. 2.

[19] Pandit Jangbahādur Mishra "Ranjan," *Vākya vishleshaṇa* (sentence analysis), Bankipur, Hindustani Press, 1930. The second edition (1933) is quoted here.

[20] Cf. Guru's analysis of relative clauses discussed in the preceeding subsection.

generally true). As shown above, the sentence is composed of seven clauses. Mishra presents two alternative analyses of the sentence which differ with respect to the treatment of clause (7). One analysis favors its treatment as a coordinate clause of (2), while the other favors its treatment as an embedding of (2). Thus, the analyses claim that the sentence can be analyzed either as a coordinate sentence or as a complex one.

The analyses also employ a bracketing system similar to that employed by modern linguistic texts.[21] The sentence above is used as an example in Diagram 1. Although the bracketing system sometimes becomes too complex and arbitrary, it did register some progress over the sentence analysis techniques employed by Mishra's predecessors. Furthermore, his sentence analysis was more ambitious than that employed in contemporary linguistically oriented grammars. Often a paragraph-length sentence is subjected to bracketing notation.

*DIAGRAM 1*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clause (2) | main clause | disjunctive mixed (embedded) sentence | mixed sentence |
| Clauses (3-5) | nominal clause modifying the main clause | | |
| Clause (1) | adverbial clause modifying the main clause | mixed (embedded) sentence | |
| Clause (7) | main embedded clause | | |
| Clause (6) | adverbial clause modifying the main embedded clause | | |

The grammar is also noteworthy because it was the first work to discuss the concept of *vākya privartan* (sentence transformation). The concept of transformation is essentially similar to that found in transformational-generative grammar, i.e., transformations do not change meaning ("artha-bhāv mẽ parivartan nahĩ").[22] Although Mishra does not list Hindi transformations, it is clear from his examples that his conception of transformation was narrower than its conception in modern-day linguistics. It was restricted to movement rules, as exemplified by the following example. According to Mishra sentences such as *isse, sustī krūrtā tathā anek durguṇõ kī vriddhi hotī hai, atah vyāyām karne valõ ko māns nahĩ khānā cāhiye* (this promotes laziness, cruelty and several other bad qualities, therefore, the ones who exercise should not eat meat) are obtained from *vyāyām karne val̃ ko māns nahĩ khānā cāhiye isse sustī krūrtā tathā anek durguṇõ kī vriddhi hotī hai* (the ones who exercise should not eat meat [because] it promotes laziness, cruelty, and several other bad qualities).[23] From examples like the one above it becomes clear that Mishra's notion of transformation was still in a formative stage and was probably sensitive to the surface structure of Hindi sentences.

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[21] For details about Mishra's bracketing system, see his op. cit., p. 48.

[22] Ibid., p. 49.

[23] Ibid., p. 50.

### 6.1.1.3 Ācārya Rām Chandra Varmā, *Acchī hindī* (1944)

Among his three well-known grammatical works, Rām Chandra Varmā's first work—*Acchī hindī*—turned out to be the most influential.[24] The primary reason for its success lies in its unique approach. Hindi grammar is presented by performing an error analysis of language usage of native speakers. This approach was not totally new. Prior to Varmā, Sir Monier Williams employed such an approach implicitly. Similarly, some native grammarians also turned to such an approach on an ad hoc basis to demonstrate ideal language use by native speakers. However, Varmā was the first to rely exclusively on this approach for his description of the language. The errors are analyzed with reference to the transfer of parts of speech and rule violation and are grouped into the following classes: *uttam racnā* (ideal formation), *artha, bhāv aur dhavni dosh* (semantic, connotative, and phonetic violations), *shabda prayog* (lexical choice), *vākya vinyās* (syntactic violation), *kriyā aur muhāvare* (verbs and idiomatic violations), *liṅga aur vacan* (gender and number errors), *chāyā kalushit bhāshā* (shady or opaque language), *samācār patrõ kī hindī* (newspaper Hindi), *anuvād kī bhūlẽ* (translational errors), *phuṭkar bātẽ* (miscellaneous errors), and *hamārī āvashayaktāẽ* (our needs).

Not surprisingly, the text adopts a prescriptive approach to a wide range of linguistic variation present in the Hindi-speaking area. The author attempts to show that Standard Hindi does not conform to a particular variety of Hindi. In some cases western Hindi usages are preferred over the eastern usage, while in other cases the reverse is true. In other words, Hindi derives its so-called standard usage from a wide variety of social and geographical dialects. In a majority of cases, a particular usage is assigned prescriptive and subjective labels such as *bhūl, truṭi, ashuddha* (error), *sahaj* (intuitive), *sundar* (beautiful), *acchā* (good). Varmā rarely attempts to analyze and explain the nature of linguistic variation. In spite of its traditional approach, the work provides more information on linguistic variation in Hindi than any other grammar of its time, with the exception of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*.

### 6.1.1.4 Dhīrendra Varmā, Bābūrām Saxenā, and Other Pre-Independence Grammarians

Among the other pre-independence grammarians, the two most noteworthy are Dhīrendra Varmā and Bābūrām Saxenā. Although they are recognized for their linguistically oriented works and contributions in the area of Hindi dialects, their jointly written traditional grammar, *Navīn hindī vyākaraṇa*, failed to make its mark on the tradition.[25] It was primarily directed to schoolchildren and is ranked as an ordinary grammar in terms of its content, scope, and treatment of the topics. Other lesser known grammarians from the pre-independence era were Shivnārāyan Lālā (1920), Amrit Dās Gupta (1921), Shrīnārāyan Chaturvedī (1924), B.L. Jain Chaitnya (1925), Shivatra Shāstrī (1925), Devīprasād Varmā (1927), Shiv Nārāyan Jhā (1927), Baldev Prasād and Bhagwān Dīn (1928), Sureshvar Pāthak Vidyālankār (1929), Gangā Prasād Upādhyāya (1930), Dharṇīdhar Shāstrī (1930), Bhuvaneshwar Mishra (1934), Gaṇesh Prasād Dvivedī (1934), Rāmanāth Upādhyāya and Vishnudatta Upādhyāya (1934), Rāghunāth Dinkar Kāṇe (1938), Gopāl Shāstrī (1939), N. Nāgappā (1941), Kedār Nāth Sharmā (1941), and Satyajīvan Varmā (1943).[26]

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[24] (Ācārya) Rām Chandra Varmā, *Acchī hindī*, Allahabad, Lokbharati Prakashan, 1944; *Hindī prayog*, Varanasi, Sahitya Ratna Mala, 1946; *Mānak hindī vyākaraṇa*, Varanasi, Chaukhamba Vidyabhavan, 1961. The last work has approximately ten editions.

### 6.1.1.5 Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, *Hindī shabdānushāsana* (1958)

During the post-independence phase, the Sabhā felt the need of producing a grammar that would be as good as Guru and at the same time meet the new demands of teaching Hindi primarily in the non-Hindi-speaking area.[27] On the eve of the silver jubilee of the Sabhā, March 1954, Dr. Amarnāth Jhā proposed to invite Kishorīdās Vājpeyī to write the proposed grammar, and on 24 September 1954 the Sabhā formally invited Vājpeyī to undertake this task. By this time, Vājpeyī had established his credentials as a reputable grammarian as the result of published articles on grammar and two books, *Braj bhāshā kā vyākaraṇa* and *Rāshtra-bhāshā kā pratham vyākaraṇa*.[28] In his last book he had even unveiled a scheme for a new Hindi grammar. But in spite of his impressive achievements, he was treated as an outcast in Hindi grammatical circles mainly because of his direct and fierce attacks on his predecessors and contemporaries.[29]

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[25] Dr. Dhīrendra Varmā is noted primarily for the following three works: *Hindī bhāshā kā itihās*, Allahabad, Hindustani Academy, 1933; *Grāmīṇa hindī*; and *Braj bhāshā* (1954).

[26] For their references, see Chaudharī, *HVI*, pp. 680-687.

[27] Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, *HS*, see p. 13.

[28] Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, *Braj bhāshā kā vyākaraṇa*, Kankhal, Himalaya Agency, 1943; *Rāshtra-bhāshā kā pratham vyākaraṇa*, Calcutta, Javani Prakashan, 1948.

[29] Vājpeyī took issue with those grammarians who saw the purpose of grammar as teaching "correct" verbal behavior. In contrast, he saw the main aim of grammar as presenting a scientific description of the language. He dismissed Guru's definition of case *(kārak)* and his distinction between *vācya* and *prayog*. He also disputed Guru's treatment of *jab* (when) and *tab* (then) as adverbs. Vājpeyī favored their treatment as time-denoting indeclinables (*samaya-sūcak avyaya*) because they do not modify verbs. He also rejected the claim by Bābūrām Saxenā that Hindi lacks *karma vācya* (object-oriented construction). Citing the example of the *ne* sentences which take

The Sabhā adopted a conciliatory attitude toward Vājpeyī, appointed an advisory committee and laid down a set of guidelines.[30] Vājpeyī completed the grammar during the next two years; however, publication was delayed for about a year because he refused to follow the suggestions of the committee, which called for improving his style by eliminating contextually irrelevant idioms and sayings together with anecdotal remarks. On substantive grounds, it was proposed to eliminate those disputed and subjective statements that lacked adequate linguistic or historical support. Finally, the Sabhā decided to publish the grammar in its original form with a note of clarification, holding the grammarian responsible for the style, spellings, and principles (*siddhānta*). Vājpeyī gladly took responsibility for the first two points but took issue with the third point, that is, principles of grammar. He pointed out that his disagreement over *siddhānta* was regarding the *ādhār* (base, model) of the grammar. Clarifying this point further, he noted that his differences on this point were with Pandit Ambikā Prasād Vājpeyī, who suggested he model his grammar after the grammar of the Prakrits instead of Sanskrit since Hindi has more affinity with the Prakrits than with Sanskrit.[31]

Before Vājpeyī set out to undertake the task of writing the grammar in question, he openly expressed his displeasure over the state of Hindi grammar of his time.[32] He was particularly disillusioned by the treatment of the *ne* construction as an example of *kartrī vākya* (agent-oriented sentence) and the treatment of the *ne* marker as *karaṇ kārak kī vibhakti* (instrumental case marker). For problematic areas such as these, he claimed that a suitable grammar of Hindi was still unwritten.[33] This was the reason that he titled his first Hindi grammar *Rāshtra-bhāshā kā pratham vyākaraṇa* (the first grammar of the national language). By the word *pratham* he meant the first authentic and correct (*ṭhīk*) grammar of Hindi. The main aim of his first grammar was to pinpoint the inadequacies of earlier treatments. He even found fault with Vermā's *Acchī hindī* (ideal/standard Hindi) and attempted to bring out its

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object-verb agreement, he concluded that Saxenā's claim stemmed from his tendency to impose English grammar on Hindi. In general, Vājpeyī held the leading grammarians of his time (such as Guru, Varmā, Saxenā) responsible for causing confusion (*gaṛbaṛ*) in the Hindi grammatical tradition. This was the main theme of his introduction to his Braj Bhāshā grammar.

[30] The committee consisted of Karṇapati Tripāthī, Krishnānanda, Vishvanāth Prasād Mishra, Hazārī Prasād Dvivedī, Kākā Kālelkar, Ambikā Prasād and Sunīti Kumār Chatterjī. Three general guidelines were set: (1) the grammar should be about six hundred pages; (2) it should be modern and patterned after modern Hindi itself; however, the model of Sanskrit could be used whenever deemed necessary; and (3) examples should be drawn from the works of reputable Hindi scholars.

[31] Vājpeyī, *HS*, Author's introduction to the second edition, 1973 edition, p. 3.

[32] Vājpeyī, *HS*, p. 9.

[33] Vājpeyī was not familiar with better treatments of the *ne* construction. He overlooked the fact that several native and nonnative grammarians had already rejected such treatment. For detailed discussion on this topic, see above, chapters 4 and 5.

mistakes and errors. More important, Vājpeyī pinpointed the independent nature of Hindi by listing its specific features. Some of his predecessors had also stressed the independent nature of Hindi but they simply paid lip service to this fact and never attempted to list specific features of the language. The only exceptions were comparative-historical grammars or articles. Among the several specific phonetic and syntactic features of Hindi, Vājpeyī considered the *ne* construction the most important unmarked feature.[34] Vājpeyī's grammar also dealt with selected topics rather than a complete treatment of the parts of speech. And he claimed that the work was aimed at a new audience, Indian learners of Hindi as a second language (nonnative speakers of Hindi).

The most striking feature of the new grammar, *Hindī shabdānushāsana*, is that it bears the stamp of Vājpeyī's independent and defiant personality. The grammar never hesitates to sacrifice objective and scientific findings to subjective beliefs. Consider, for example, Vājpeyī's treatment of the historical development of Hindi. Pandit Rāhul Sānskrityāyan rightly criticizes Vājpeyī's view that the language of the Vedas was the first human language (*mūl bhāshā*). In response Vājpeyī refers to his religious background and states that his own claim is the direct result of his upbringing (*sanskār*) and that in a traditional upbringing or beliefs one can sometimes override facts established by logic (*tarka siddha bāt*).[35] Similarly, his personal preferences compelled him to discard the well-established and motivated term *Apbhraṃshas* in favor of his own coining, *third prākrit*. Vājpeyī's uncompromising and unyielding approach turned out to be the greatest merit as well as the greatest shortcoming of his work. In terms of its thematic, stylistic, and general approach this is one of the most free-sprited works of Hindi grammar.

In comparison with Guru's, Vājpeyī's grammar secures high marks in terms of originality. It is divided into three main parts, entitled *pūrvapīṭhikā* (introduction), *pūrvārddha* (the first half), and *uttarārddha* (the latter half). An appendix is given at the end. The introduction details the historical development of Hindi. Vājpeyī was one of those few Hindi scholars who subscribed to the most narrow definition of the Hindi language and consequently treated Avadhī, Rājasthānī, and Braj as independent languages. He proposed the concept *Hindī bhāshā saṅgha* (Hindi language commonwealth or union), similar to the modern-day concept of "linguistic area."[36] According to him, languages such as Avadhī, Rājasthānī, Braj Bhāshā, Bhojpurī, and Maithilī represent independent members of the Hindi commonwealth area.[37]

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[34] The other two most important language-specific features are the deletion of *h* and the frequent occurrence of long nasalized vowels. For further details, see the section on the properties of Khaṛi bolī (*khaṛī bolī kī visheshtāen*). Vājpeyī, 1948, op. cit., pp. 22-32.

[35] Vājpeyī, *HS*, p. 2.

[36] For details on this concept, see Peter Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction*, New York, Penguin Books, 1983, pp. 173-176; also see Colin P. Masica, *Defining a Linguistic Area*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Vājpeyī's treatment of phonetics does not show any significant improvement over his predecessors. Such then-new topics as accent system were left untouched upon. The classification of Hindi vowels and consonants is detailed according to the point and manner of articulation. The retroflex flap *ṛ* and *ṛh* are left unaccounted for. Some impressionistic terminology and criteria for classifying sounds are found in the work. Vājpeyī particularly favors the employment of two subjective classificatory criteria—*komaltā* (softness) and *madhurtā* (sweetness). The unaspirate oral and nasal consonants are grouped as soft whereas the nasals are subclassified from the viewpoint of sweetness. Dental and labial nasals are grouped as sweet, whereas velar, palatal, and retroflex nasals are not.[38] Furthermore, Vājpeyī's postulation of an underlying four-vowel system—*a*, *i*, *u*, and *ri*—for Hindi is not free from shortcomings.[39]

In spite of stressing the independent nature of Hindi, the grammar is heavily influenced by Sanskrit. Nowhere is this influence so clear as in Vājpeyī's treatment of Hindi grammatical categories. Indeed, the originality of the grammar is primarily due to his in-depth knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. Vājpeyī's treatment of pronouns, case markers, and adverbs deserves special mention. Citing Hindi sentences such as *kyā se kyā ho gayā*, he argues that the question word *kyā* (what) does not take an oblique form (even if it is followed by a postposition), and since a gap occurs with respect to its use with postpositions such as *ne* and *ko (kyā ne* and *kyā ko)*, it should be analyzed as an "interrogative indeclinable."[40] Similarly, he favored the treatment of the indefinite pronoun *kuch* (some) as indeclinable. With regard to his treatment of Hindi parts of speech, Vājpeyī's point of view led him to take a new look at the definition, classification, and subclassification of the grammatical categories.[41]

Although Vājpeyī's discussion of syntax focuses on word order, he offers new insights on the order of frozen conjuncts. A set of abstract semantic, grammatical, phonetic, and graphemic conditions such as the precedence of diminutiveness (physical size, weight, and social status) over largeness, short (phonetic length) over long, vowels over consonants, guttural consonants over other consonant types, and sequential ordering of graphemes in the Devanāgarī script are abstracted to account for the frozen word order of Hindi phrases such as *strī-purush* (woman and man), *nar-nārī* (man and woman), *amīr-garīb* (rich and poor), *idhar-udhar* (here and there), *jahā̃-tahā̃* (where and there), *mātā-pitā* (mother and father).[42] He also points out that if the word order in the frozen phrases is reversed, it does not cause any semantic interference; however, the word-order change demotes their acceptability.[43] Rejecting the distinction between coordination and subordination, Vājpeyī favors the classification of the Hindi sentence into two major classes: *sādhāraṇ* (simple) and *sanyukta* (coordinate). He further takes issue with his predecessors who favored the treatment of sentences such as *māĩ ne kahā ki tum cale jāo* (I said that you go) as *mishra* (mixed) sentences. According to Vājpeyī, the sentences in question do not involve any main or subordinate clause.[44] Both clauses carry equal weight. The rejection of subordination in Hindi sentences marks a radical departure from other classifications of Hindi sentence type and is not well motivated. Moreover, the discussion of the topic ends abruptly without providing any substantial support for his unconventional claim.[45]

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[37] Vājpeyī, *HS*, p. 11. Also see M.B. Emeneau, "India as a linguistic area," *Language* 32, 1956, pp. 3-16; Emeneau, "The Indian linguistic area revisited," *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, 3, 1974, pp. 92-134; F.B.L. Kuiper, "The genesis of a linguistic area," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 10, 1967, pp. 81-102; cf. P.B. Pandit, *India as a Sociolinguistic Area*, Poona, Poona University Press, 1972.

[38] Vājpeyī, *HS*, p. 96.

[39] Ibid., p. 82.

[40] Ibid., pp. 23-25.

[41] For a summary of Vājpeyī's analysis of Hindi parts of speech, see Chaudharī, *HVI*, pp. 625-41. Vājpeyī attempts to redefine categories such as pronouns, indeclinables: *vibhakti*, indefinite and interrogative pronouns are reclassified, and a new subclassification of *vibhakti* into *kārak* and *upapad vibhakti* is introduced. See Vājpeyī, *HS*, p. 135. Similarly distinction between *visheshaṇ* (adjective) and *bhedak* (classifier) is proposed. In adjectival phrases such as *acchi laṛkī* (good girl) and *pahāṛī laṛkī* (mountain girl), the modifiers *acchī* and *pahāṛi* are treated as *visheshaṇ* and *bhedak*, respectively. For details, see Vājpeyī, ibid., pp. 228-31.

The last component of the grammar is devoted to the verb. The discussion of tenses is more philosophically than pedagogically oriented, the opposite of most traditional grammars. Therefore, rather than addressing the question of the classification of Hindi tenses, Vājpeyī details the criteria for determining present tense in the language. Similarly, departing from the absolute conception of remoteness and proximity employed in traditional grammars in the context of past and future tenses, he proposes a gradation of remoteness and proximity. Sentences such as *bas, jā rahā hū̃* (well, [I] am going), *gāṛī jāne hī vāli hai* (the train is about to leave) are given as examples of more near future than ordinary future sentences such as *gāṛī jāyegī* (the train will leave).[46] The notion of *siddha* and *sādhya* stems proposed in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition is extended in the context of Hindi tenses. By *siddha*, Vājpeyī means that the verb is *nishcit*, i.e., the action is definitely carried out; whereas the term *sādhya* expresses *anishcittā* (uncertainty) with respect to the carrying out of the activity denoted by the verb. The present and past tense verb forms are labeled as *siddha* verbs, whereas the imperative and future forms are classed as *sādhya* verbs.[47] Without making any mention of the notion of *pūrak* or *pūrti* proposed by his predecessors, he makes similar observations that transitive verbs sometimes act as intransitives and vice versa.[48] Vājpeyī emphatically claims that Hindi roots never end in a consonant but all end in a vowel.[49] This means that he does not acknowledge the existence of the word-final schwa syncope rule, contrary to the claims of his predecessors. The concept of *updhātu* (sub/derived roots) is also brought out. The class of *updhātu* is further subdivided into *viksit* (developed/general) and *saṅkucit* (restricted) *updhātu.* Consider for example the verb *kahlānā* (to cause someone to say). The *updhātu* in the verb in question is *kahlā*, which is derived from the *mūl dhātu* (main root), i.e., *kah* (say). The causative *updhātu* form is termed *viksit*, whereas its passive usage is called *saṅkucit*, as exemplified by sentences (1) and (2), respectively: (1) *mā̃ bacce se sab kahlā detī hai* (the mother makes the child say everything), and (2) *aise hī sajjan granthkār kahlāte hā̃ī* (such gentlemen are called authors).[50] This brought Vājpeyī to claim that surface causative verb forms do not always render causative meaning. Earlier Kellogg had made a similar observation. The remaining discussion of the verb is essentially in accordance with his predecessors except for minor changes. For example, he groups compound verbs into two classes, *sanshlishṭa* (synthetic) and *vishlishṭa* (analytical). The former category is created to account for only one verb, *lānā* (to bring), which is underlyingly analyzed as the compound verb *le* + *ānā* (take + come). The remaining compound verbs fall in the latter class.[51]

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[42] Cf. William E. Cooper and John R. Ross, "World Order," in *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism*, Robin Grossman et al., eds., Chicago Linguistic Society, 1973, pp. 63-111. This paper demonstrates that the elements in frozen English conjuncts (bigger and better, fore and aft, kit and caboodle, etc.) are determined in part by highly abstract grammatical conditions.

[43] Vājpeyī, *HS*, pp. 333-42.

[44] Ibid., p. 379.

[45] For details see ibid., pp. 379-82.

[46] Ibid., p. 440.

The grammar takes keen interest in the morphological and etymological analysis of linguistic forms. Every grammatical morpheme is meticulously isolated and analyzed for its function and historical development. In this practice Vājpeyī often supercedes Kellogg. In addition his analysis of the underlying representation is generally guided by diachronic considerations. For example, consider Vājpeyī's analysis of the third person singular marker in the future verb form *paṛhegā* (will read). He postulates the (underlying) person morpheme *i* instead of the surface form *e* for two reasons: the morpheme *i* represents an older form and still shows up on the surface in various Hindi dialects such as the Braj Bhāshā equivalent of the above Standard Hindi future form, *paṛhaigo* (will read). Because of his preference for diachronic analysis in arriving at underlying forms, he sometimes attacked other scholars unfairly for their reliance on synchronic analysis alone. A case in point is his criticism of Hazārī Prasād Dvivedī for analyzing the person suffix (*e*) for Standard Hindi in the form in question.

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[47] For details see ibid., pp. 403-7.
[48] Ibid., p. 442.
[49] Ibid., p. 388.
[50] See ibid., pp. 456-61.
[51] Ibid., pp. 477-78.

But in spite of Vājpeyī's scholarly approach, sometimes his line of argumentation turns out to be unscientific. Observe his argument in favor of his analysis of *y* and *v* as the indicators of proximity and remoteness, respectively, in the demonstrative pronouns *yah* (this) and *vah* (that). Citing the linear arrangement of the letters in the Devanāgarī script, he argues that since the letter *v* is sequenced after *y*, *y* and *v* inherently express proximity and remoteness, respectively.[52] Thus despite its important and independent contributions, the grammar is marred by a subjective and nonscientific line of argumentation on several occasions. Vājpeyī's failure to keep up with the earlier Hindi grammatical literature, particularly the second-language grammars, led him into unnecessary problems. He claims that it took him two years to solve the puzzle of why the verb *lenā* (to take) selects the agent marker *-ne* whereas the verb *lānā* (to bring) is not a *ne* construction. He further contends that no grammarian before him brought forth the underlying compound nature of the verb *lānā*.[53] But as I have shown in previous chapters, this was not a new discovery. In spite of its originality and new insights, it is difficult to support Vājpeyī's claim that his grammar was the "first authentic work of Hindi grammar."[54]

An abridged version of the grammar also appeared for schoolchildren.[55] Two later grammar-related works are *Hindī mīmānsā* and *Hindī kī vartanī tathā shabda-vishleshaṇa*.[56] The important aspect of the former is an error analysis similar to the one performed by Āchārya Rām Chandra Varmā. In *Hindī shabdānushāsana* Vājpeyī had already isolated factors dealing with lexical choice such as *āshakta shabda* (weak words), *grāmytā* (dialectalism), *ashlīltā* (taboo), syntax, and semantics which govern the acceptability of a Hindi sentence. Those factors are further detailed in *Hindī mīmānsā*.

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[52] Ibid., p. 18.

[53] Ibid., pp. 146 and 477. Similarly his explanation of the use of the *ko* postposition with an animate object is inadequate. Holding perceptual reasons as underlyingly responsible, he cites two sentences: (1) *rām govind ko dekhtā hai* (Ram sees Govind) and (2) *rām ghar dekhtā hai* (Ram sees a house). He argues that in (1) the object noun has to take *ko* otherwise the subject-object relationship would be confused by listeners. However, the *ko* is not required in (2) because no perceptual confusion is caused by its absence, as the inanimate noun *ghar* (house) cannot see anyway. Such an explanation is incorrect. See ibid., p. 120.

[54] Ibid., p. 70.

[55] Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, *Saral shabdasānushsān*, Kashi, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, 1959.

[56] Kishorīdās Vājpeyī, *Hindi mīmānsā*, Kankhal, Himalaya Agency, 1958; and *Hindī kī vartani tathā shabda-vishleshaṇa*, Delhi, Rajdhani Granthagar, 1968.

### 6.1.1.6 J.M. Dimshitz, *Hindī vyākaraṇa kī rūparekhā* (1966)

With this work the impact of the Russian contribution to Hindi grammar became more visible and its scope extended to first-language grammars.[57] In the introductory remarks to his grammar J.M. Dimshitz reinterprets the history and motivations that underlie the study of Indology and Indian languages in the West. He claims that the study of Hindi and other Indian languages began toward the end of the eighteenth century.[58] The Western (European) motivation for such studies was superficial and guided merely by colonial and pragmatic factors. In contrast, the scientific study of Hindi and other Indic languages was pioneered by Russian scholars such as Lebedeff with more serious goals and wider objectives in mind, that is, the uniqueness and greatness of Indian culture and civilization. Before the October Revolution study was restricted to the classical languages of India, whereas after the Revolution the modern vernaculars received serious attention.[59] Needless to say, Dimshitz's remarks are guided mainly by political ideology and not by an objective perception of the history of Indology.

In the foreword Dr. Nāmvar Singh claims that the work in question not only represents the first work by a Russian in Hindi but also promises a new tradition in Hindi grammar. Although the former claim is undoubtedly true, the latter claim is prompted more by considerations of politeness than by scientific considerations. The foreword also credits the grammar for bringing new usages and new grammatical categories into the domain of Hindi grammar.

An important aspect of Dimshitz's treatment of Hindi phonetics is his detailed description of the schwa syncope rule and stress accent (*svarāghāt*) system. His treatment surpasses that of Kellogg, Greaves, Guru, and Vājpeyī and competes with that of Sharmā.[60]

The classification of Hindi parts of speech combines the traditional approach and a somewhat structuralist approach. Following a classification similar to that of content and functional word analysis of structural linguistics, the Hindi word is divided into main and secondary words. The traditional parts of speech—noun, adjective, pronoun, adverb, and verb—belong to the former category, whereas the bound words such as case markers and particles belong to the latter. The emotive words form the third main class of the Hindi word.[61] The treatment of the parts of speech is new on account of new terms and minor subclassificational differences. For example, the feature of *count* is employed to distinguish between count and noncount nouns, whereas the subclass of collective nouns is now merged with common nouns. Special attention is paid to incorporating the insights of analytical syntax into the description of parts of speech. For example, the description of the noun also includes the subject and predicate use of a noun.[62] The phenomenon of regularization and irregularization is specially highlighted during the description of Hindi parts of speech.

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[57] J.M. Dimshitz, *Hindī vyākaraṇa kī rūparekhā*, Delhi, Rajkamal Prakashan, 1966.

[58] Ibid., p. 10.

[59] For details see ibid., pp. 10-11.

[60] For details see ibid., pp. 14-15, 18-19.

Perhaps one of the weakest aspects of the work is the discussion of verbs. For example, the future tense is classified into three groups: Future I, *paṛhū̃gā* (will read); Future II, *paṛhtā hogā* and Future III, *paṛhā hogā*. In reality the last two types are not examples of the future tense but represent presumptive imperfect and presumptive perfect verb forms, respectively. Moreover, the criteria employed to classify tenses are not uniform. The classification of the past and the future follows two distinct criteria, which may be termed semantic and formal criteria, respectively.[63]

Dimshitz's discussion of *vācya* (voice) differs significantly from his predecessors and best exemplifies the dilemma of traditional grammarians with respect to the treatment of verb agreement and voice. He postulates only two voices for Hindi—active (*kartrī vācya*) and passive (*karma vācya*). Instead of the widely used label *bhāv vācya*, the term *karma vācya* is reserved for the passive voice alone.[64] However, the term *bhāv vācya* is not totally abandoned. The use of *karma vācya* and *bhāv vācya* is not consistent. During the discussion of past tense, the term *karma vācya parak vākya racnā* refers to the ergative construction which takes object-verb agreement and *bhāv vācya parak vākya* refers to impersonal constructions, as exemplified by his sentence *mā̃ī ne ciṭṭhī ko likhā hai* (I have written a/the letter). Notice that in the impersonal construction the verb is neutral and agrees neither with the subject nor with the object. Observe that Dimshitz's use of the term *karma vācya* not only deviates from its widely accepted usage but also is ambiguous.[65] In this context, the notion of subjectless sentence (*uddeshya rahit vākya racnā*) is also introduced and *bhāv vācya* is equated with subjectless sentences.[66] As we can see, the discussion of *vācya* and sentence formation is confusing.

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[61] Ibid., pp. 26-29.
[62] Ibid., pp. 31-35.
[63] For details see ibid., pp. 125-62.
[64] Ibid., pp. 177-78.
[65] See ibid., pp. 140-45.
[66] Ibid., p. 178.

The treatment of causative and compound verbs conforms to the earlier treatments by Kellogg, Greaves, or Guru, with the exception of some terminological differences. A new term, *avdhāraṇa bodhak kriyā*, is used to refer to the so-called intensive compound verbs formed with stem + helping verb.[67] The other categories, such as frequentatives, permissives, desideratives, are listed separately under another new label, *kriyārthak samudāya*.[68]

In spite of its shortcomings, the grammar has its place in the history for its striking linguistic and nonlinguistic properties. The data selection mirrors the socialist orientation of the grammarian. For instance, observe the examples and subclassification of proper Hindi nouns— *sāmājik ghaṭnāõ ke nām* (the names of social events), *rājya krānti* (revolution pertaining to kingdom), *sāmājik va rājnaitik sidhāntõ ke nām* (the names of social and political principles), *mārksavād* (Marxism), *samājvād* (socialism), *bhautikvād* (materialism), *itihāsik ghatnāõ ke nām* (the names of historical events), *akṭūbar krānti* (the October Revolution), *mai divas* (May Day).[69] The term *nāmik kriyā* is used to refer to nominal compound (or conjunct) verbs. The account of sentence analysis is in accordance with earlier works such as Guru and Mishra, the only difference being that Dimshitz makes no attempt to present a graphic or tabular analysis of sentences and the notion of *apūrṇa vākya* (incomplete sentence) refers to sentences with deleted constituents rather than incomplete sentences.[70]

### 6.1.2. *Second-Language Grammars*

Although with the independence of India the teaching of Hindi and other modern languages intensified around the globe, English continues to be the most preferred medium of second-language grammars. Although during the 1940s and in the post-independence era the number of grammars and language courses written in English in India and outside India rose even more dramatically, only a handful of the following grammarians turned out to be very influential: Scholberg (1940), Harley (1944), Hoeigswald (1945), Eastwick (1947), Southworth (1971), and McGregor (1972).[71] Among the native grammarians only Sharmā's (1958) work gained prominence. An important addition to this list was made in the 1980s when Japanese grammarians set out to make their contribution to this class of grammars.[72]

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[67] Ibid., pp. 260-64.

[68] Ibid., pp. 265-69.

[69] Ibid., pp. 32-33.

[70] Ibid., pp. 306-307.

[71] A quick glance at a recent report by Shapiro, Verma, and Pray reveals that at least fifty notable grammar and language courses were written during the 1950s and 1970s in India and outside India. For a complete list, see Michael C. Shapiro, Manindra K. Verma, and Bruce R. Pray, *A Three Year Curriculum in Modern Standard Hindi*, Final Report for U.S. Department of Education, Grant G00800 2118, Seattle, Washington, University of Washington, 1980, pp. 36-38. For more titles see Narinder K. Aggarwal, *A Bibliography of Studies on Hindi Language and Linguistics*, Delhi, Indian Document Service, 1978.

### 6.1.2.1 H.C. Scholberg, *Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language* (1940)

Although ranked among the most influential grammars of the twentieth century, Scholberg's *Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language* was ventured primarily to meet commercial demands created because Kellogg's and Greaves's grammars were out of print.[73] As the title indicates, the goals set for the work are modest. It aims at presenting a simplified and concise synopsis of Hindi grammar from the comprehensive grammars of Kellogg and Greaves. Except for the arrangement of the material, no originality is claimed.[74] In spite of this modest claim, the grammar is embedded with occasional original observations. For example, the introduction to Hindi pronunciation totally abandons the pronunciation-cue approach, because in Scholberg's view it is hopeless to try "to illustrate the Hindi characters by the use of sounds made in English."[75] He feels that the underlying problem with this approach is establishing an unambiguous reference point, that is, which English? British, American, London, Yorkshire, Australian, New Zealand? He concludes, "It is therefore next to impossible to find adequate comparison."[76] For convenience, previous grammarians had shied away from this discussion. Either they endorsed the pronunciation-cue methodology or abandoned it without going into details about its shortcomings. Similarly, Scholberg takes issue with the earlier treatment of accents proposed by Kellogg and Greaves and concludes that it is "quantity (length) rather than accent" which is important for Hindi.[77]

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In what follows the detailed analysis of Scholberg's grammar is presented as representative of pre-independence grammars such as A.H. Harley, *Colloquial Hindustani*, with an introduction on pronunciation and the alphabet by J.R. Firth, London, Kegan Paul, 1944; Henry M. Hoeigswald. *Spoken Hindustani*, New York, Holt, 1945; E.B. Eastwick, *Hindustani Grammar*, London, 1947. The two post-independence grammars are Franklin C. Southworth, *The Students' Hindi-Urdu Reference Manual*, Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Press, 1971; Ronald S. McGregor, *Outline of Hindi Grammar with Exercises*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1972. For a detailed evaluation of the latter two grammars see Tej K. Bhatia, "Hindī ke ādhunik shaishik vyākaraṇa" (Some pedagogical grammars of Hindi: An evalution), *Anuprayukta bhāshā-vigyāna*, ed. R.N. Srivastava et al., Delhi, Alekha Prakashan, 1980, pp. 196-214. For my review of McGregor's grammar see *Papers in Linguistics*, 1972, 5:4, pp. 660-72.

[72] Tomio Mizokami, *Hindi*, Tokyo, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1980.

[73] H.C. Scholberg, *Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language*, London, Oxford University Press, 1940; 2nd ed., 1950; 3rd ed., 1955. The third edition is cited here.

[74] See Scholberg, op. cit., p. xvi.

[75] Ibid., p. xv.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 14.

As regards syntax, he argues that the first and second causals refer to immediate and mediate causation, respectively.[78]

### 6.1.2.2 Āryendra Sharmā, *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi* (1958)

Sharmā's *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi* represents the first official attempt in the series of organizational efforts to produce a more satisfactory grammar.[79] In 1954 the government of India appointed a committee to meet the need for a "scientific" grammar of Hindi, which by then had been declared the official language of the Indian Union.[80] It was felt that earlier grammars were patterned after classical languages. The committee worked for a year to outline a syllabus for the proposed new and independent grammar. In particular the committee isolated eight properties which needed attention in the grammar: (1) phonetic differentiation between Hindi and Sanskrit sounds, (2) Hindi accent, (3) the *ne-* construction, (4) case system, (5) simplification of grammatical terminology, (6) Hindi morphology, (7) *sandhi*, and (8) *anusvār* and *annunāsik*.[81] Four years after the formation of the committee, the first edition was published. The second edition, published fourteen years later, made four changes dealing with the Devanāgarī script: (1) standardization of the script, (2) incorporating diacritics to help express peculiar sounds "patent to other Indian languages," (3) standardization of Hindi spelling and (4) following a "scientific" mode of writing the Devanāgarī alphabet.[82] No important changes were made in the third edition.

The grammar is aimed primarily at second-language learners, although it can equally serve first-language learners. The first edition cannot be credited with originality on all the eight points mentioned above. Sharmā's treatment of case is similar to that of nineteenth-century grammarians such as Platts and others who had postulated two cases (simple and oblique). The history of the satisfactory treatment of the ergative construction goes back even further. But the grammar does represent an advancement over its predecessors in two general ways: One, it incorporates on an ad hoc basis the new insights of descriptive linguists about the structure of Hindi. Two, it exercises considerable influence regarding the standardization of Hindi spelling and transcription.

The description of Hindi sounds is borrowed from the modern texts on general and Hindi phonetics.[83] For example, the vowel *a* is described as a short, half-open, middle vowel. This is also true in the description of Hindi accent, which receives independent treatment. The process of syllabic division is more detailed than in any other traditional grammar. Also, it is revealed that Hindi has only stress accent.[84] The schwa syncope rule, described in the chapter on *sandhi* and euphony, is quite sketchy, certainly a step backward in the light of the writings of the nineteenth-century grammarians such as Kellogg on the topic.

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[78] Ibid., p. 97.

[79] Āryendra Sharmā, *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi*, New Delhi, Central Hindi Directorate, 1958; 2nd ed., 1972; 3rd ed., 1975. The third edition is quoted here.

[80] The committee consisted of five members. In addition to the grammarian himself, the other four members were Suniti Kumār Chatterjī, M. Satyanārāyaṇa, Bābū Rām Saksenā, and G.P. Nene.

[81] Sharmā, op. cit., pp. iii-iv.

[82] Ibid., p. iiii.

The classification of Hindi parts of speech follows the model of English. The treatment does not represent any serious advancement, and on several occasions the analysis of the language comes closer to pre-Gilchrist grammar. For instance, the construction *mãĩ ne laṛkī dekhī* (I saw the girl) is treated as active-objectival construction; whereas *mãĩ ne naukar ko bulāyā* (I called the servant) is analyzed as passive-neutral construction.[85] The treatment of syntax is traditional and does not make use of the insights gained by the constituent analysis employed by Sharmā's predecessors. Thus in the light of the goals set by the committee, the grammar falls seriously short. It does not make any significant contribution to the progression of Hindi grammar except for those instances where findings of the structural grammarians are applied to the Hindi language on an ad hoc basis.

### 6.1.2.3 Second-Language Grammars in Other Languages

The scope of second-language grammars written in other European languages was extended further with the important contributions of the Slavic and Scandinavian grammarians. The modern Russian contribution began in 1926 with the grammar of Alexsi P. Barannikov and continues to gain strength to this day.[86]

With the ever-increasing number of second-language grammars, the number of Hindi manuals and readers (in English, French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Czech, Russian, and Japanese) has also skyrocketed.[87] These manuals combined the characteristics of previous eras with modern times. At present the scope of Hindi extends to transplanted (international) varieties of Hindi. The writing of such manuals is a fairly recent phenomenon.[88]

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[83] Ibid., p. 3.

[84] See ibid., chapter 7, pp. 16-18.

[85] Ibid., p. 81.

[86] Alexsi P. Barannikov, *A Short Grammar of Hindustani* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1926. For a complete list of Russian contributions to Hindi grammar, see *Vishva hindī darshana*, April 1981. This special issue is devoted to the status of Hindi teaching and research in Russia. The journal is edited and published by Lallan Prasād Vyās from New Delhi.

[87] For an important list of manuals and readers in English, see Shapiro, et al., 1980, op. cit., pp. 38-39. Also see Aggarwal, 1978, op. cit., pp. 124-28. For a list of manuals in Russian see *Vishva hindī darshana*. Some important manuals written in European languages other than English are Otto Spies and Ernest Bannerth, *Lehrbuch der Hindustani-Sprache*, Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1945; A. Sharma and H.J. Vermeer, *Einführung in die Hindi-Grammatik*, Heidelberg, Julius Groos Verlag, 1963; Ludo Rocher, *Leerboek van het moderne Hindi*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1958; V. Pořizka,

## 6.2 Modern Linguistically Oriented Grammars

Following the comparative-historical linguistic revolution, the two major turning points in linguistics which left a definite and significant impact on the progression of Hindi grammar were the introduction of structural and transformational-generative linguistic models. The new approaches aim particularly at gaining better insights into the working of the Hindi language at the synchronic level. Although sporadic introduction of the concepts and analytical techniques of these two linguistic models is visible even in the nineteenth-century grammars, their systematic and conscious application did not begin until the middle of this century.

During the past three decades the steady stream of modern Hindi grammars patterned after structural and transformational-generative grammar continues to gain strength and exhibits a bias in favor of the transformational-generative model. The important methodological aspect of modern Hindi grammar is the growing importance of "introspective data" obtained from self-informant work. Although the use of nonintrospective data obtained from experimentation or naturalistic observation of native speakers continues to play an important role in the writing of modern Hindi grammars, the preference for introspective data is very strong.[89] Similarly, the concern for theory—how language actually works—and problematic linguistic concepts—competence and performance, linguistic universals, simplicity and evaluation, psychological reality, linguistic variation—is more urgent and compelling than ever before.[90]

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*Hindština Hindī Language Course*, Stātni Pedagogické Nakladatelstvi, Prague; Stella Sandhal-Forgue, *Hindi Grammatik*, Stockholm, Institutionen for Orientaliska Sprak, Indologiska Avdelningen, Stockholm University, 1978; T. Doi, *Hindiigo Nyuumon*, Tokyo, Jairyusha, 1979; T. Tanaka and K. Machida, *Express Hindi*, Tokyo, Hakusuisha, 1986; Katsurokoga, *Kiso Hindīgo*, Tokyo, Daigakushorin, 1986; Teiji Sakata, *Hindīgo Nyūmon*, Tokyo, Aoyagi, 1986.

For a survey and evaluation of Hindi language courses and readers produced in the 1960s and early 1970s, see Michael C. Shapiro, "A survey and evaluation of Hindi-Urdu teaching materials," in *Language Testing and Criteria for Linguistic Proficiency in South Asian Languages*, Edgar C. Polome et al., eds., Proceedings of the Austin Conference, Austin, Texas, 1973, pp. 185-97.

[88] See Rodney F. Moag, *Fiji Hindī*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1977. Also, A.B. Huiskamp, *Soeroe se Soere Kar: An Audio-visual Course in Sarnami Hindi for Beginners*, Part one, Paramaribo-Zuid, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1978. For the state of research on transplanted varieties of Hindi, see Tej K. Bhatia, "Transplanted South Asian languages: An overview," *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 1981, 11:2, pp. 129-34.

[89] For more on the nature and value of introspective and nonintrospective data, see Frederick J. Newmeyer, *Grammatical Theory: Its Limits and Possibilities*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983, pp. 48-72.

[90] For details on these troublesome concepts in grammatical theory, see ibid., pp. 34-47.

Modern Hindi grammar which aims at accounting for the syntax of the language can be divided into six groups: (1) descriptive, (2) systemic, (3) tagmemic, (4) case, (5) structural, and (6) transformational-generative. A very large body of literature from all six groups is still in the form of unpublished dissertations. There are also numerous research papers and journal articles which have contributed to our understanding of the language.

Among the descriptive syntactic studies three works—by Hacker (1958), Lienhard (1961), and Gaeffke (1967)—are specially noteworthy.[91] These works specify the usage of linguistic forms in linguistic and/or extralinguistic contexts. They provide extremely valuable data (nonintrospective) and illustrations on the basis of which a linguist could attempt to draw generalizations about the Hindi language. Important studies by S.K. Verma (1961) and M.K. Verma (1968) follow the systemic model proposed by Halliday, whereas the work by Miltner (1970) has been carried out following Pike's tegmemic model.[92] The studies by Balchandran (1973), Gupta (1974), and Shapiro (1974) are modeled after Fillmore's case grammar.[93] In comparison with the systemic, tegmemic, and case model, the structural model has been the favorite choice of Hindi grammarians. Among the several articles and Ph.D. dissertations written following the structural model, the most important and comprehensive studies have been by V. Srivastava (1969) and Sahai (1970).[94] These studies attempt to reclassify Hindi parts of speech into form and functional classes. The reassessment of the parts of speech did not cause furor in Hindi grammatical circles as it did in English with the publication of Charles

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[91] Paul Hacker, *Zur Funktion einiger Hilfsverben im modernen Hindi*, Wiesbaden, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1958. For review of this book, see Peter Gaeffke, *ORIENS*, 1963, 16, pp. 345-358; Siegfried Lienhard, *Tempusgebrauch und Aktionsortenbildung in der modernen Hindi*, Stockholm, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1961; reviewed by Peter Gaeffke in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1963, 112. Peter Gaeffke, *Untersuchungen zur syntax des Hindi*, The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1967; reviewed by Y. Kāchru in *Language* 1970, 46, pp. 968-74.

[92] Shivendra K. Verma, "A Study in the Systemic Description of Hindi Grammar and Comparisons of the Hindi English Verbal Group," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1961. M.K. Verma, "Hindi and English Sentence and Clause Patterns; A Study in Systemic Contrastive Analysis," M.A. thesis, Hyderabad, Central Institute of English, 1968. Vladimir Miltner, *Theory of Hindi Syntax*, The Hague, Mouton, 1970; reviewed by Ronald S. McGregor in *Indian Linguistics*, 35, 1974, pp. 68-69.

[93] Lakshmi Bai Balchandran, *A Case Grammar of Hindi: With a Special Reference to the Causative Sentences*, Agra, Central Institute of Hindi, 1973; for the reviews of her work see Chaturbhuj Sahai in *Gaveshṇā*, 12, 1974, pp. 108-116; also Jagdev Singh in *Indian Linguistics*, 36, 1975, pp. 157-73. Balvir Prakash Gupta, "Some Aspects of Subject and Theme in Hindi," Ph. D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1974; Michael C. Shapiro, "Aspect of Hindi Abstract Verbal Syntax," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974.

[94] Vishwajit Narain Srivastava, "A Structural Study of Hindi Phrases," Ph.D. Dissertation, K.M. Institute, Agra, 1969. Chaturbhuj Sahai, *Hindi ke avyaya vākyānsha*, Agra, Central Hindi Institute, 1970. For a complete list of structural descriptions of Hindi, see Aggarwal, 1978, op. cit., pp. 65-74.

Fries's *The Structure of English*. A part of the reason was the new findings were overshadowed by the emergence of yet another and more powerful linguistic model, transformational-generative grammar, and the shortcomings of the structural framework became known in a relatively short time.[95]

'The emergence of transformational-generative grammar (Chomsky 1957 and 1965) is viewed as a revolution in grammar studies.[96] This crept into Hindi with the outstanding pioneering work by Kachru (1965).[97] This work was followed by a more complete and updated work (1966) and is largely responsible for drawing the attention of Hindi researchers to the new model.[98] The revelation of new and interesting facts about the language created a favorable outlook for conducting more specialized studies such as those by Bahl (1967), Sinha (1970), van Olphan (1970), Verma (1971), Sah (1971), Kachru (1973, 1980), A. Sinha (1973, Rajgopalan (1973, 1979), Hook (1974), Subbarao (1974), Bhatia (1978), Hackman (1976), Siddiqui (1977), Pandharipande (1981), and V. Gambhir (1981). The aspects of Hindi syntax which have received detailed attention by the above grammarians and others are noun and verb phrases, compound and causative verbs, relative clauses, possessives, ergativity, word order, the interrogation and questioning-answering system, negation, and the tense-aspect system.[99] It should be pointed out that these studies, although essentially transformational-generative in nature, often make substantial use of pragmatics and generative semantics.

Modern grammar studies on Hindi have dealt with the three main branches of phonetics: articulatory, experimental, and auditory. The foundation of modern phonetic studies is Qadri (1930).[100] This work is essentially experimental in nature and presents a palatographic and spectrographic study of mainly Dakkinī Hindi. This was followed by three important studies on general phonetics and phonology (Mehrotra 1970, Kostic et al. 1975, and B.N. Tiwari 1973). In the area of experimental phonetics, significant contributions have been made by Dixit (1963, 1975), Srivastava (1968), Jha (1970), Ohala and Ohala (1972), and Benguerel and Bhatia (1980). Notable studies on the auditory aspect of Hindi began with S. Singh (1966) and were followed by a number of excellent studies by Ahmad and Aggarwal (1969), Gupta et al. (1969), Jaggi and Gandhi (1971), M. Ohala (1972), and Bhatia (1973, 1974, and 1983).

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[95] For the shortcomings of the structural descriptions of Hindi, see Yamunā Kāchru, *An Introduction to Hindi Syntax*, Mimeograph, Urbana, University of Illinois, 1966, pp. 19-22; for further details see an article by the same author, "Contemporary linguistic models and descriptive analyses of Hindi," in *Studies in Hindi Linguistics*, Y. Kāchru, ed., New Delhi, American Institute of Indian Studies, 1968, pp. 134-51.

[96] Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, The Hague, Mouton, 1957; *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1965.

[97] Yamunā Kāchru, "A Transformational Treatment of Hindi Verbal Syntax," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1965.

[98] Yamunā Kāchru, 1966, op. cit., This work is among the most widely quoted works on Hindi grammar/linguistics. It has been reviewed in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 30.3, 1967; *Archiv Orientalni*, 38, 1970; *Journal of Linguistics*, 6.1, 1970; *Indian Linguistics*, 32.2, 1971; and *Linguistics*, April, 81, 1972.

[99] For a detailed survey of the literature on Hindi syntax before the mid-1960s, see Vladimir Miltner, "Hindi," in Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 5, The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1969, pp. 55-84. For the developments in this area since the publication of Miltner's survey and before 1976, see Michael C. Shapiro, "Current trends in Hindi syntax: A bibliographic survey," in Osker von Hinüber, et al. (eds.) *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, Reinbek, Verlag für orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1978, pp. 3-52.

[100] S.J. Mohiuddin Qadri, *Hindustani Phonetics*, Villeneuve, L'Union Typographique, 1930.

The studies on Hindi phonology were marked by a more colorful beginning with the publication of Kelkar (1968).[101] In this study Kelkar proposed a model of autonomous phonology for studying the Hindi sound system. Srivastava (1969), demonstrating that substantive assumptions such as separation of levels, linearity, invariance, and biuniqueness led to amomalous and contradicting conclusions, challenged the model proposed by Kelkar.[102] This debate generated so much enthusiasm among Hindi researchers that it was followed by a reply by Kelkar (1970) and a rejoinder by Srivastava (1970).[103] The most comprehensive study of Hindi phonology under the generative framework is by M. Ohala (1972) and continues to be the best work in the field to date.[104] In addition, since 1970 there has been a tremendous growth of research articles on the various aspects of Hindi. The main topics which have been addressed by studies on Hindi phonetics and phonology are as follows: the nature of the syllable and syllabification, semivowels, segmental sequencing, stress, melody, and intonation. The four topics which have received special attention for their importance for phonetic and phonological theories are aspiration, nasalization, compensatory vowel lengthening, and retroflexion.

Although morphology is generally covered under the scope of modern Hindi phonological studies, noteworthy independent works on Hindi morphology are by Beskrovnyj (1960), Barxudarov (1963), Upreti (1964), Pray (1970), Jain (1978), and Maheshchandra (1978). It should be added that Russian grammarians have taken keen interest in this aspect of the Hindi language. The number of independent studies on Hindi semantics is almost negligible. Part of the problem is the complexity involving the investigation of meaning in a language. Two major studies which fall under the category of semantics are by

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[101] Ashoka R. Kelkar, *Studies in Hindi-Urdu*, Volume 1, Poona, Deccan College, 1968.

[102] See R.N. Srivastava's review of *Studies in Hindi-Urdu* in Language, 45, 1969, pp. 913-27.

[103] Ashoka R. Kelkar, "Reply to Srivastava's review of Kelkar (1968)," *Indian Linguistics*, 3, 1970, pp. 103-81; R.N. Srivastava, "Rejoinder to Kelkar's reply to Srivastava's review," *Indian Linguistics*, 31, 1970, pp. 186-96.

[104] Manjari Ohala, "Topics in Hindi-Urdu Phonology," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1972.

Bahri (1959) and Bahl (1974, 1979).[105] Bahri was a pioneer in this area. The works of Rastogi (1973) and Abbi (1980) also fall under the heading of semantic studies of Hindi.

Modern sociolinguistic descriptions of Hindi were stimulated by the works of Gumperz (1958; with Naim 1960). The sociolinguistic studies which bloomed in the seventies deal primarily with social stratification, modes of address and formality, kinship terms, social and geographical distancing and pidginization of Hindi. The important research in this area is still in the form of articles, e.g., Kelley (1966), Apte (1974), Jain (1975), Srivastava and Sahai (1976), Khubchandani (1978), and several others. Three detailed studies which deserve mention are R.R. Mehrotra (1977), Misra (1977), and R.C. Mehrotra (1981).

During the past quarter century, Hindi grammar has been flooded with an ever-increasing stream of linguistic studies in the form of articles, theses, dissertations, reports, monographs, and books, in India as well as outside. This phenomenon is clearly the result of the introduction of new methodologies and theories of linguistics. From the trends outlined above, it is clear that theoretical, methodological, and analytical developments in the West continue to dominate Hindi grammar studies. In spite of the ever-increasing pace of contributions by competent Indian scholars, the focus of Hindi grammatical studies continues to shift to the West. With modern linguistic studies, the scope of Hindi grammar has been radically extended. In view of developments in every component of the language (phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic), the tradition has experienced several turning points during the relatively short span of three decades. Consequently, Hindi grammar has become more sophisticated theoretically, more advanced methodologically, and deeper analytically. Furthermore, it requires more and more specialization to appreciate its power and gains. The objective, explanatory, and predictive mode is fast gaining ground on the subjective, descriptive, and interpretive mode. But in spite of its spectacular gains, all is not well with Hindi grammar. Duplication and imitation are on the increase. The psycholinguistic and semantic aspect of Hindi grammar is still neglected. Pandialectal studies in the modern sense are eagerly awaited. The need for consolidation of present findings about Hindi is still a challenging task. Most of all, the yearning for a Pāṇini-type Hindi grammar continues to shatter the self-confidence of Hindi grammarians and linguists. Meanwhile, the search for a more perfect, comprehensive, and in-depth grammar continues.

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[105] Hardev Bahri, *Hindi Semantics*, Allahabad, Bharati Press, 1959; Kali C. Bahl, *Studies in the Semantic Structure of Hindi*, Vol. I (1974) Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas and Vol. II (1979) Delhi, Manohar. Review of Vol. I by Tej K. Bhatia in *Studies in Language Learning*, 1, (1975), pp. 660-72.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

# CONCLUSION

Of all the manifestations of Hindi language and literature, its grammatical literature still remains in a neglected state. The underlying reason for this has been the continued strong presence of negative linguistic attitudes which interfere with the systematic study and transmission of the tradition. No doubt some isolated studies of a historical nature, based on indirect and secondary evidence, do provide a sigh of relief, but they are not sufficient to fill the serious gaps left in our understanding of the tradition and to eliminate misconceptions perpetuated by the prevailing folk perception of the history of the tradition. Therefore, it is a widely held belief among concerned grammarians and historians of Hindi that, in sharp contrast to the Sanskrit language, Hindi is far from developing a proper appreciation of its three-centuries-old uninterrupted and well-attested grammatical inheritance. Thus some Hindi grammarians continue to disregard and even undermine the chronological progression of linguistic thought and the treatment of the language. This has stunted the growth of the tradition and, still worse, resulted in several negative developments, such as the loss of valuable manuscripts, duplication and recycling of old findings, improper assessments of the contributions of individual grammarians (the practice of over- and underassessment is quite severe in Hindi), and confusion of the chronology of developments. Even the most fundamental questions such as the nature of the oldest grammar and the onset point of the tradition are not free from misconceptions.

The Hindi grammatical tradition is alien in origin and largely adopted non-native paradigms during the course of its development. The tradition, which was initiated by the writing of second-language grammar, had to wait for more than a century before first-language grammar finally made its way into it. First-language grammar, though a late development in Hindi, complemented second-language grammar in terms of its scope and treatment of topics and was largely responsible for the introduction of native paradigms into the tradition. Currently, Hindi grammars, both first and second language, are being written in a wide variety of types, mediums, and formats. Diversity has become their unmarked feature.

The progression of grammatical thought did not proceed in a systematic and constantly upward direction in Hindi. Because the growth of the tradition was not guided solely by linguistic and theoretical considerations, it progressed in a rather nonuniform fashion. Sociolinguistic and extralinguistic factors (such as sociopolitical setting, government patronage, volunteer organizations, and the need created by out-of-print texts) played an important role in determining the trends and were largely responsible for the ups and downs in the course of development. In spite of uneven and spirallike growth, in the final analysis, the tradition managed to register a generally upward trend. The role of sociolinguistic and extralinguistic factors in the growth of the tradition cannot be viewed as an exception or a purely language-specific phenomenon but is representative of the vernacular grammatical tradition, particularly during the early stages of its growth.

The tradition subscribed to three main models of language: religious-colonial, secular, and theoretically oriented or pure linguistic models. During the early stages of its development, the religious-colonial model determined the nature of Hindi grammars, and from here Hindi grammar proceeded toward a more objective, secular model. In modern times, pure linguistic and theoretically oriented models have also made their way into Hindi grammar. In regard to the treatment of parts of speech per se, the classical models of grammar, namely, Latin and Sanskrit, dominated the tradition for a significant period of time during the initial phase of first- and second-language grammar, but they later yielded in favor of vernacular grammatical models, primarily English and secondarily Hindi. In spite of the progress made in linguistic theory and grammatical thought, Hindi grammar is still in the grip of English. This situation is not restricted to traditional grammars alone; some linguistically oriented modern grammars leave the impression that Hindi and English differ with each other only in terms of their lexicon.

With advances in Hindi grammar, it is interesting to observe that the nonprescriptive conception of the earliest grammar gave way to prescriptivism. These prescriptive tendencies grew stronger with the maturation of Hindi traditional grammars in spite of the rejection of the classical model. The signs of a nonprescriptive notion of grammar are once again becoming strong with the emergence of modern linguistic grammars and progressive traditional grammars such as Kishorīdās Vājpeyī's. Three main conceptions of the scope of Hindi grammar emerge in the tradition. The wide scope of Hindi grammar favors the inclusion of various native and nonnative scripts, *rasas* (juices), *chanda* (meter), historical treatment of the topics selected, *kahāvatẽ* and *muhāvare* (sayings and idioms), together with the description of Hindi dialects. The narrow scope excludes these topics. The moderate and most widely accepted scope includes discussion of the Devanāgarī script, parts of speech, and some formal analysis of Hindi syntax. Two recent additions to the widely varied scope of Hindi grammar discussed in the foregoing chapters are the description of nonnative and nonstandard varieties of Hindi. The last variety is not totally new but has begun to receive more serious and systematic attention with the growing influence of the findings of modern sociolinguistics.

The methodology which has gone into the tradition deserves special attention. The tradition has shown overwhelming preference for the inclusion of nonintrospective (nonpersonal) data. Contrary to the practice employed in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, the use of introspective data was largely viewed with suspicion and doubt about their acceptability in the description of the language. Both native and nonnative grammarians exhibit remarkable agreement on this issue. The only difference is that the first-language grammarians prefer to abstract their data from written sources, whereas second-language grammarians attach almost equal importance to both spoken and written nonpersonal data. In the recent years, the preference for personal data has received increasing importance in the modern linguistically oriented grammars. This tendency has in no way reduced the value of nonpersonal data. More diversified methods of abstracting nonpersonal data are increasingly being employed by modern Hindi grammarians to keep up with developments in sociolinguistics.

The chronological treatment of topics dealing with the syntactic and phonetic components of the language is beyond the scope of this chapter and deserves independent and detailed attention (along the lines shown in Bhatia 1982 and forthcoming).[1] However, in the absence of such detailed studies, it is still possible to construct the historical treatment of some selected topics from the discussions of the individual grammars presented in the foregoing chapters. Some closing remarks in this context are in order.

The treatment of phonetics and phonology in the Hindi grammatical tradition is marked by the following important developments: (1) It has gone from the earliest impressionistic and subjective stage to the present, more objective and scientific stage. (2) Since the emergence of the first-language grammars, it has been dominated by the letter-based approach of the Devanāgarī script. (3) Following the ancient Indic tradition, the point and manner of articulation are essentially employed as criteria to describe and classify the Hindi sound system. (4) Since the nineteenth century, a singular criterion rather than two distinct criteria is employed to classify vowel and consonant sounds alike. (5) The treatment of phonetics in the tradition has become increasingly aware of dialect differences at both the geographical and social level. (6) It has become increasingly sensitive to the concept of the gradation of phonetic features. (7) The major issues involving phonetics and phonology are: (a) aspiration and glottal *h* and the problem of unitary versus cluster treatment of aspirated consonants; (b) supra-segmental features; (c) phonological status of diphthongs, retroflex flaps, voiced aspirates, and borrowed sounds; (d) the nature of the schwa syncope rule in a word or morpheme medial and final position; and (e) the interaction of phonological rules with the grammatical component of the language.

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[1] Tej. K. Bhatia, "The treatment of transitivity in the Hindi grammatical tradition," *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 6.3, 1982, pp. 214-27. Also, "The treatment of discourse in the Hindi grammatical tradition," forthcoming.

The study of the lexicon in the tradition grew in the following five contexts: (1) dictionary listings, (2) the productive processes such as morphology of causative verbs and the derivation of conjunct and compound verbs, (3) controversy over style and borrowings, (4) etymology, and (5) lexical innovations.

The analytical techniques employed in the treatment of syntax were subject to the limitations of the theory of the time and were essentially guided by the surface structure of the language. The syntactic analysis has gone through the following stages of development in the tradition: (1) parts of speech as selection classes; (2) linear string analysis (from left to right directional); (3) constituent analysis, similar to that of immediate constituent analysis of modern linguistics; and (4) structural analysis, employing primarily two notions, substitution and extension. These stages do not coincide with developments in modern linguistics; it seems the traditional grammarians were ahead of their time in arriving at such analyses as the last two.

The traditional grammarians of Hindi did not take a keen or direct interest in theoretical questions. In spite of this, theoretical insights are scattered throughout the literature. It appears that they subscribed to or at least recognized the following theoretical concepts: the systematic nature of language (even of the vulgar languages), rule government, the lack of a neat correlation between grammaticality and acceptability, nondiscreteness of linguistic categories, linguistic variability, the notion of complement (*pūrak*), transformation (*vākya parivartan*) and elaborate and concise structures. Although they lacked a systematic notion of the two levels of representation similar to the one employed in modern linguistics by transformational-generative grammar, it appears that they were in striking range of developing this notion. Some of their concepts were still in a formative stage and thus had an insignificant impact on the tradition, whereas the more developed notions left a more lasting mark in a variety of ways, for classificatory, pedagogical, and testing purposes. In addition, terminological and graphic innovations (*kriyā vriksha*) and the bracketing system were also brought about. The contributions of the grammarians were many, although so were their problems and shortcomings.

As pointed out in the last two chapters, since the emergence of comparative-historical linguistics, the developments in Hindi grammar have been significantly determined by advances in modern linguistics. In spite of the arrival of more powerful and sophisticated modern grammars, the growth of traditional grammar persists in Hindi. Since the arrival of modern grammars, important results have been registered in the area of general linguistic theory, universal grammar, and the description of the language in question. The two-level approach of the modern transformational-generative grammars of Hindi has made significant advances in our understanding of the phonological and syntactic component of the language. And this in turn contributed to theoretical issues (competence and performance, grammaticality and acceptability, simplicity and evaluation of a grammar, psychological reality of rules, the role of pragmatics in grammar) and methodological issues (acceptability problems involving introspective and nonintrospective data; alleged data disagreements and analytical problems). The traditional grammars were not totally unaware of these issues, but they lacked the depth, seriousness, and hyperspecialization of the modern grammars.

In spite of the new heights and vigor gained by the tradition, some nagging problems remain. Of these problems, the two most important are: One, the insights gained about the language thus far remain in a highly scattered state. There is an urgent need for consolidation to avoid further duplication and repetition of old findings and to embark on new ambitious goals. Two, although the tradition is capable of coming to grips with some of its substantive problems, there seems to be no light at the end of the tunnel for the urgent psychological problem which has been eroding the self-confidence of Hindi grammarians for some time now. Native scholarship views the nonnative paradigms of Hindi as no substitute for developing native paradigms. Therefore, the search for the Pāṇini of Hindi grammar persists.

## APPENDIX I

# MODERN LINGUISTIC WORKS CITED IN CHAPTER 6 (SECTION 6.2)

*Syntax*

Kali C. Bahl, 1967, *A Reference Grammar of Hindi*, Chicago, University of Chicago. Mimeographed.

Tej K. Bhatia, 1978, "A syntactic and semantic description of negation in South Asian Languages," Urbana, University of Illinois. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Vijay Gambhir, 1981, "Syntactic restrictions and discourse functions of word order in standard Hindi," Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Geoffrey J. Hackman, 1976, "An integrated analysis of the Hindi tense and aspect system," Urbana, University of Illinois. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Peter E. Hook, 1974, *The Compound Verb in Hindi*, The Michigan Series in South and Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.

Yamunā Kāchru, 1973, *Hindī rūpāntaraṇātmaka vyākaraṇa ke kucha prakaraṇa*, Agra, Kendrīya Hindī Sansthāna.

——, 1980, *Aspects of Hindi Grammar*, Delhi, Manohar Prakashan.

Rajeshwari Pandharipande, 1981, "Syntax and semantics of the passive construction in selected South Asian Languages," Urbana, University of Illinois. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Nandaduru V. Rajgopalan, 1973, *Hindī kā bhāshā-vaigyānika Vyākaraṇa*, Agra, Kendrīya Hindī Sansthāna.

——, 1979, *Hindī kā bhāshā-vaigyānika vyākaraṇa*, (Revised and enlarged edition), Agra, Kendrīya Hindī Sansthāna.

P. P. Sah, 1971, "A generative semantic treatment of some aspects of English and Hindi grammar," York University (Great Britain). Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Ahmad H. Siddiqui, 1977, "The syntax and semantics of question in English, Hindi and Urdu: A study in applied linguistics," Columbus, Ohio State University. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Anil C. Sinha, 1970, "Predicate complement construction in Hindi and English," York University (Great Britain). Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Anjani K. Sinha, 1973, "Factivity and relations between main and subordinate clauses in Hindi," *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, Chicago, University of Chicago, Department of Linguistics, pp. 351-58.

K. V. Subbarao, 1974, "Noun phrase complementation in Hindi," Urbana, University of Illinois. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Herman H. Van Olphen, 1970, "The structure of the Hindi verb phrase," Austin, University of Texax. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Manindra K. Verma, 1971, *The Structure of Noun Phrases in English and Hindi*, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass.

*Phonetics*

*General Studies*:

Djordje Kostic, Aloknandana Mitter and K. G. Rastogi, 1975, *A Short Outline of Hindi Phonetics*, Calcutta, Indian Statistical Institute.

Ramesh Chandra Mehrotra, 1970, *Hindī dhvanikī aur dhvanimī* (Hindi Phonetics and Phonemics), Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal.

Bhola Nath Tiwari, 1973, *Hindī dhvaniyān aur unkā uccāraṇa*, Delhi, Shabdakara.

#### *Experimental Studies*:

Andre-Pierre Benguerel and Tej K. Bhatia, 1980, "Hindi stop consonant: An acoustic and fiberscopic study," *Phonetica*, 37, pp. 137-48.

R. P. Dixit, 1963, "The segmental phonemes of contemporary Hindi," Austin, University of Texas. Unpublished M. A. thesis.

——, 1975, "Neuromuscular aspects of laryngeal features control with special reference to Hindi," Austin, University of Texas. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

P. Jha, 1970, "Etude contrastive de la phonetique et de la phonologie des systems Français et Hindi," Dijon (France). Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

Manjari Ohala and John Ohala, 1972, "The problem of aspiration in Hindi phonetics," *Annual Bulletin*, Res. Ins. of Logopedics and Phoniatrics, Tokyo, 6, pp. 39-46.

R. N. Srivastava, 1968, "Theory of monophonematics of aspirated phonemes of Hindi," *Acta Linguistica*, pp. 363-73.

#### *Auditory Studies*:

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## APPENDIX II

# VARIATIONS IN GRAMMATICAL TERMS IN THE HISTORY

In the history of the Hindi grammatical tradition, the terms in each of the following numbered groups have been used more or less interchangeably with other terms in the same group.

1. Absolutive Participle, Conjunctive Participle, Conjunctive Past Participle, Preterperfect Participle, Preterit Participle, *pūrvarkālik kriyā.*
2. Case Marker, Termination, Bound Word, *vibhakti, kārak.*
3. Honorific Pronoun, *adhikār aur gaurav sahit sarvanām, ādarpradarshak sarvanām.*
4. Intransitive Verb, Neuter Verb, Stative Verb, *akarmak kriyā.*
5. Mood, *niyam* (generally no Hindi equivalent).
6. Noun, *saṅgyā, nām.*
7. Participle, *asmāpikā kriyā, kridanta.*
8. Past, Simple Past, Perfect, Preterperfect, Indefinite Perfect, *bhūt, sāmānya bhūt.*
9. Past Habitual, Past Indefinite, Preterimperfect, Imperfect, Past Imperfect, *apūrṇa bhūt.*
10. Past Perfect, Preterpluperfect, Pluperfect, Remote Past, *pūrṇa bhūt.*
11. Personal Pronoun, *nām vācak sarvanām, purusha vācak sarvanām.*
12. Postposition, Preposition, Article.
13. Prefix, Preposition, *upsarga.*
14. Present Participle, Imperfect Participle, *vartamān kridant.*
15. Present Perfect, Preterpluperfect, Pluperfect, Present Proximate, *āsanna bhūt.*
16. Pronoun, *sarvanām, saṅgyā pratinidhi.*
17. Proper noun, *prakrit nām vācak saṅgyā, nām.*
18. Root, Stem, Verbal Noun, *dhātu.*
19. Suffix, Adjunctive, *parvarti.*
20. Transitive Verb, Active Verb, *sakarmak kriyā.*

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